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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. III, No. 1 Fall 1992

This Quarter's Theme:

Revealing the Costs of Immigration

Featuring Articles by:

Lancy Izumi

Rob Gurwitt

Wayne Lutton

Stephen Rimmer

John Tanton

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, REVIEWS AND REPORTAGE ON:
population growth, international migration, bilingual education, assimilation, employment, and the environment.

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BEYOND POLITICALLY CORRECT...

"THIS PROVOCATIVE THESIS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ENRAGE MANY."

—LINDA CHAVEZ, AUTHOR OF *OUT OF THE BARRIO*

▲WHY do East Asian immigrants perform so well in America?

▲WHY are two thirds of America's black population middle class — while one-third remains in the ghetto?

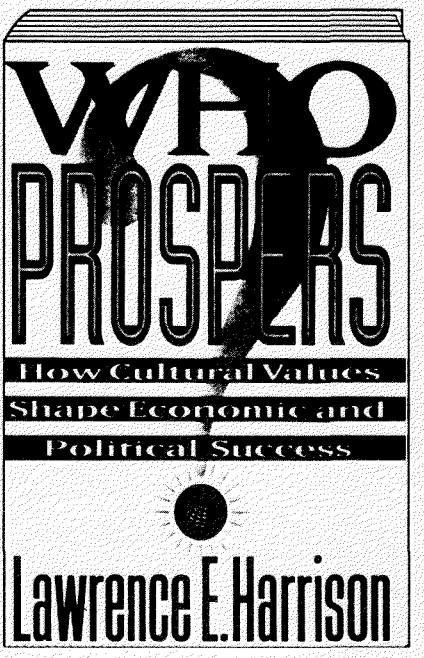
▲WHY do Hispanic Americans acculturate more slowly than most other immigrant groups?

According to Lawrence E. Harrison, the author of this myth-shattering but ultimately hopeful book, culture—values and attitudes—provides the key to unlocking these mysteries. Harrison shows how it is the cultural values of a people, with respect to work, education, austerity, excellence, family, and community, that largely explain why some succeed while others do not.

Harrison argues that it is the erosion of these values that lies behind America's deline. Understanding how culture can facilitate—or impede—progress is crucial to a renaissance in the United States, just as it is to development in Third World countries mired in authoritarianism, economic stagnation, and social inequality. *Who Prospers?* suggests measures to promote cultural change that nurtures progress, both at home and abroad.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lawrence E. Harrison directed USAID missions in five Latin American countries between 1965 and 1981. He is the author of *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case*, which, like *Who Prospers?*, he wrote as a visiting scholar at Harvard Univeristy's Center for International Affairs.



"I'm convinced that he's right and that it is crucially important that this book be read, both at home and abroad."

—RICHARD LAMM, FORMER GOVERNOR OF COLORADO

EARLY PRAISE

"Lawrence Harrison has taken up the all-important and too-often neglected relationship between culture and progress in a series of penetrating and insighful case studies of success and failure. This book is an important contribution to our understanding of how wealth and well-being are created in the modern world."

—FRANCIS FUKUYAMA, AUTHOR OF *THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN*

"In these politically correct times...Harrison makes a compelling case that certain cultural values contribute to the success of some nations over others...and help explain why some groups within our society perform better than others."

—LINDA CHAVEZ, AUTHOR OF *OUT OF THE BARRIO*

"This far-ranging and richly detailed work significantly advances the frontiers of our knowledge about the cultural determinants of economic development and political modernization. Lawrence Harrison makes an unabashed case for the critical importance of the cultural factor in national development with great vigor and clarity."

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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Learning the Right Lessons from Rostock and Los Angeles

According to the English language press reports available in the United States, the civil (uncivil?) disturbances in Germany concerning asylum applicants are being perpetrated by "radical right wingers, neo-Nazis and skinheads" who are "xenophobic, racist and nationalistic." They are obviously portrayed as not very nice people.

One of the advantages of being able to read a foreign language (in my case, German) is that one can work upstream around such formulaic and politically correct language and consult sources closer to the events. Here is my translation from the lead article, filed from Rostock, of the *Northamerikanische Wochen-Post* for Sept 5-11:

> *The radical nucleus of the rioters based their action on the shabby justification that "this will wake the politicians up," and continued, "one must torch a few buildings and break a few heads."*

These are not very noble sentiments, but they are an example of our "we told them so." From the very beginnings of our work on the immigration issue in the late 1960s, we have been saying that if reasonable people did not take up the issue and deal with it while moderate and socially acceptable measures would suffice, then it was very likely that it would end up in the streets. They did not, and it has. The disaffected are now issuing a wake-up call for the politicians.

There are real grievances, as Wolfgang Bosswick reports on page 36 of this journal. Germany expects about 500,000 asylum applicants this year, for each of whom it costs the government $880 per month. Housing is scarce and unemployment is very high — 40 percent in Rostock and 57 percent in neighboring Lichtenhagen, where, according to *The New York Times Large Print Weekly*, "neighbors petitioned the politicians [for action] for months. But nothing happened. Then the youths took matters into their own hands." In the town of Breitenheerda, the foreigners outnumber the locals. Is it reasonable to expect the latter not to object?

What are the public options when the system refuses to respond?

Here in the United States, the conditions are in many respects similar. Despite repeated polls showing that the overwhelming majority of Americans, of all political stripes and of all colors, want illegal immigration ended and legal immigration sharply reduced, Congress in 1986 amnestied several millions of persons who had entered the country illegally. Then in 1990, it granted a second series of amnesties to the relatives of the first wave — and went on to increase legal immigration by 40 percent. The question for the United States is whether, given this sharp disparity between what the people want and what the politicians are giving, we can avoid our own disturbances.

The 'doctrine of American Exceptionalism' holds that we can. Briefly put, this view states that we are the exception to the rule, that it cannot happen here, that God is with Us — *Got mit uns* was the German version of this conceit. But it has already started to happen here, as Jack Miles contends in the cover article in the October issue of *The Atlantic*. Writing on the Los Angeles riots, he highlights the competition that recent immigration policy has fostered between long-resident blacks and newcomer Hispanics. This played a big role in the riots, which were *not* just over the Rodney King verdict. [See page 71 for a summary of this article.]

There have been less serious dust-ups in the past, such as the conflict between Vietnamese fishermen and native Texans in the Gulf of Mexico, and the tension brewing between the Hmongs and the natives in Wausau, Wisconsin. It would not take much to touch things off again.

This is especially true when one considers that affirmative action programs in the U.S. cover some recent immigrants, classifying them as "minorities." Attempts to have the political system address this inequity have been met with a stony silence. Such preferential treatment is also a factor in the German situation.

If we are not careful, the message that more and more people will draw from incidents like Rostock is that violence works. In another article in the *Wochen-Post* that was highly critical of the German

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rioters, the author concluded "violence triumphs." In the words of *U.S. News & World Report*, "Skinhead violence resolved the problem where bureaucracy could not." Law review articles and polite letters to politicians that get form-letter replies do not seem to do much good; what gets action is raising hell. This will get the media to cover your concerns, and provide the publicity that may finally move the system.

As to American Exceptionalism, we shall see. The combination of economic hard times and continued high-level immigration, coupled with numerous special privileges for the newcomers, could very well tip the scales.

In this issue of *The Social Contract*, we feature a series of related articles on the costs of immigration. The costs and the benefits often end up on different ledgers. High numbers of poorly skilled immigrants may provide a ready supply of inexpensive gardeners for those able to afford a garden, but at the same time spark fierce competition at the bottom of the economic pile for housing, schooling, medical services, and so on. The tensions produced may not reliably always be confined to less desirable neighborhoods.

In the editorial in our last issue we theorized about the three phases of the immigration debate — the final one being a rational phase of free and unemotional discussion. We're pleased to note the appearance in the last quarter of cover stories about immigration in both *The Atlantic* and *National Review*, summarized on pages 69-72. We take these as welcome signs that the mature phase of the debate is upon us.

On the other hand, our presidential candidates have said nary a word about immigration, and the party platforms offer nothing but platitudes.

What will it take to get our system to respond? ■

The U.S. Must Be A Leading Example For Ecological Survival

The United States of America generates more pollution per capita than any nation, yet it is the only developed nation with a rising population. Firm measures must be adopted to end such individual practices as commuting great distances, and to change such governmental policies as paving more habitats. Limiting and stabilizing population in the U.S. is therefore essential. Immigration should be at replacement level, to go with fertility rates which are at replacement level already. It is counterproductive for the U.S. to serve as a safety valve for other nations which have irresponsible birth rates. With the U.S. playing the role of compassionate provider, there is little incentive for other countries to address and solve their own population and pollution problems. Through strong but humane policies, the U.S. must get its house in order in the community of nations.

— From *A Platform of Principles for the Conservation Revolution*
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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Water availability has a direct bearing on the quality of our life if not on our very existence. A limited supply of water and an ever-increasing population (exacerbated by an out-of-control immigration policy) means less water for everybody. Such a scenario is now being acted out in California and our elected officials seem to be powerless to do anything about it.

California's history is the story of drought and that has a lot of bearing on the present. We know from studying tree rings that California suffered a drought that lasted more than 50 years from the 1760s to the 1820s. Another twenty-year drought period occurred from 1865 to 1885. A benchmark drought between 1928 and 1933 saw average rainfall of 10.62 inches or 41 percent below normal.

In the 140 years from 1850 to 1990 there have been 37 years in which the rainfall was less than 13.62 inches (the high water mark of the five-year dry period 1928-1933) and which would qualify as drought years with the rainfall at 24 percent below normal. Based on the rainfall recorded at the weather bureau in Sacramento over the last 140 years, in an average of one out of four years, the rainfall will be at least 24 percent below normal.

With the current drought going into its sixth year and with no prospect of relief, there is new attention to the subject of numbers of people in relation to an ever-diminished water supply. The steady growth of California's population is due in large measure to excessive migration into the state, 44 percent of which is composed of legal and illegal immigrants. It is estimated that the state's population increases by 700,000 to 800,000 persons each year. To provide water for this many people means that California would have to build a dam the size of Folsom Dam every six-and-a-half years! This estimate is based on a "drought standard" formula of a family of five using one acre-foot of water per year. More new dams to accommodate the burgeoning population are felt to be too expensive as well as being vigorously opposed by environmentalists.

How about converting sea water to potable water? The cost for that at present is about $1,900 per acre-foot — equally untenable.

I have been making the suggestion that we begin to tie growth to water supply in a very concrete way. I am proposing that the State of California have the ultimate authority to issue building permits, and that this authority be vested in the Department of Water Resources Control Board. This Department would authorize the existing building departments of the counties and cities to represent them in the issuance of building permits. Knowing where the water is and what the needs of the state are, the Board can allocate building permits relative to the available supply of water based on the previously mentioned drought standard definition: *The population of a given watershed area would be limited to the water available in the reservoirs over a four-year dry period based on a family of five using one acre-foot of water per year.* Such a definition would serve as a yardstick by which any community or region would be allowed to grow, but no more. An area such as Southern California would have to have its current water needs supplied from outside areas. It would be understood that such "transfers" would mitigate against growth in the areas from which the water was taken.

The state legislature has created standards to address the hazards of fire, flood, earthquake — why not drought?

The explosion of population now occurring in our state is creating intolerable conditions: choking the arteries of transportation, poisoning the air we breathe, blinding us to the beauty of a state we can no longer see, cramming us together on ever-smaller lots, causing the prices of our homes to soar beyond the reach of our children, raising our taxes to pay for such things as welfare for legal and illegal immigrants. This immense increase in population is severely outstripping the supply of water. And we are told we must endure all this in the name of "growth."

Wendell G. Peart, DVM
Roseville, CA

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Does immigration confer a net benefit or cost on the United States? John Tanton and Wayne Lutton contend it is the latter in their forthcoming book, "The Winds of Change: An Almanac of U.S. Immigration Policy." The chapter on welfare is excerpted below.

Welfare Costs For Immigrants

By John Tanton and Wayne Lutton

At one time, factual information about the effects of immigrants on our social welfare system was hard to come by, but now we have an impressive body of knowledge relating to this field. In summary: immigrants who have come to the United States since 1965 are generally less well-educated and have fewer job skills and poorer language abilities than immigrants of earlier eras. It is hardly surprising to discover that these newer immigrants are more likely to use welfare than their predecessors.

The United States has become a "welfare magnet" to people around the world. Benefits granted by federal, state, and local agencies are often far higher than typical wage scales in many countries of origin. [See Table 1 below.]

Table 1
ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME
MAJOR SENDING COUNTRIES
(In U.S. Dollars)

Mexico	2165	Guyana	420
El Salvador	1020	Mainland China	320
Guatemala	1250	Vietnam	215
Colombia	1110	Laos	150
Peru	880	Cambodia	130
Nicaragua	470	Thailand	1160
Honduras	890	Korea	4600
Ecuador	935	Pakistan	409
Philippines	625	India	400
Cuba	2000	Bangladesh	180
Jamaica	1100	Iran	1800
Haiti	380	Nigeria	270
Dominican Rep.	790	Poland	4565

(Source: *Information Please Almanac, Atlas and Yearbook*, 1992, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.)

IMMIGRANT WELFARE USE INCREASING

Economists George Borjas of the University of California-San Diego, and Stephen Trejo of the University of California-Santa Barbara, in their study, *Immigrant Participation in the Welfare System,* confirm the validity of the "widespread perception that unskilled immigrants are particularly prone to enter the welfare system, and that the entry of large numbers of these immigrants in the past two decades has increased taxpayer expenditures of income transfer programs." Data from the 1970 and 1980 Censuses indicate that immigrant welfare dependency rates have been rising steadily since the onset of the 1965 immigration revisions and have become significantly higher — both in absolute terms and relative to native-born American citizens. The 1990 Census documents increasing rates of welfare use by immigrants.

"The United States has become a 'welfare magnet' to people around the world. Benefits granted by federal, state and local agencies are often far higher than typical wage scales in many countries of origin."

Professors Borjas and Trejo find that welfare use increases with the age of an immigrant more quickly than it does among native-born Americans. By law, immigrants are subject to deportation if they become a "public charge" during their first five years of residency in the U.S. While this provision is almost never enforced, the possibility may discourage some recent immigrants from applying for aid. Borjas and Trejo also discovered that "the process of assimilation leads immigrants into welfare rather than out of it. [Immigrant] assimilation involves the accumulation of information not only about labor market opportunities, but also about alternative opportunities available through the welfare system."

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Research conducted by Lief Jensen supports the conclusions reached by Borjas and Trejo. Writing in the Spring 1988 issue of *International Migration Review*, Professor Jensen noted that foreign-born residents of the United States were 56 percent more likely than native-born Americans to be living in poverty, 25 percent more likely to receive public aid, and to have an average per capita income from public assistance 13.6 percent higher than natives.

Welfare participation rates differ among immigrants. Those coming from less-developed countries and possessing skills that do not meet the requirements of a high-tech economy are much more likely to use welfare than are skilled immigrants from industrialized nations. The most recent census figures indicate that 29.3 percent of Vietnamese immigrants were on welfare, 25.8 percent of those from the Dominican Republic, 18 percent from Cuba, 12.4 percent from Mexico, all the way down to 4 percent from Denmark and 3.9 percent from Switzerland.

PROGRAMS USED BY ALIENS

Immigrants are participating in more than fifteen major federally- and state-financed services. [See Table 2.] The largest expense category is public education, kindergarten through high school. Thanks to a 1982 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, taxpayers are required to educate the children of illegal aliens.

Uncompensated medical care provided to illegal aliens at publicly-supported hospitals follows education as the most costly burden to U.S. taxpayers. The average cost to taxpayers is $4700 *per admission* (*Estimated Annual Costs of Major Federal and State Services to Illegal Aliens*, Center for Immigration Studies).

Table 2
MAJOR FEDERAL AND STATE BENEFIT PROGRAMS USED BY IMMIGRANTS

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)
General Assistance
Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Community Development Grants
Foster care, adoption assistance, and child welfare
Medicaid, emergency services and services for pregnant women
State and local medical care
School lunch and breakfast programs
Headstart
Job Training Partnership Act
Title IV for Higher Education
Block grants for social services
Adult Education Grants
Women, Infants and Children (WIC) and other child nutrition
Home Energy Assistance

(Source: Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress)

IMMIGRATION INCREASES THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

Important cost elements that cannot be accurately estimated — but are no less real — are those general services used by all persons residing in an area, regardless of their citizenship, such as police and fire protection, the courts, parks and other public facilities, transportation, and environmental protection. The costs of all of these services rise as population grows.

Since 1970, U.S. immigration policies are responsible for an increase in our population of more than 27 million. Immigrants and their children — because of their high fertility rates — account for more than half of U.S. population growth since 1970. They are likely to contribute two-thirds of the anticipated increase through the remainder of the 1990s, according to demographer Leon Bouvier of Tulane University.

American baby boomers are having small families. But large-scale immigration has doubled U.S. population growth over what it would have been without immigration. Thus, a significant part of the rising costs of public services can fairly be attributed to immigration.

THE ROLE OF THE COURTS

Over the past decade, the courts have acted to extend welfare eligibility to illegal aliens. It seems odd that people who have broken federal statutes and are not legal residents of the United States are nonetheless entitled to a host of benefits at taxpayers' expense. There can be little doubt that the expansion of aliens' "rights" to include welfare is acting as a spur to more immigration, both legal and illegal.

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A milestone in the continuing controversy over entitlements received by illegal aliens was the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Plyler v. Doe*, which overturned a Texas law that denied school districts' funds for the education of children who are themselves illegal aliens. The Texas law gave districts the option of denying them admission or of charging tuition.

In their 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court majority declared this sensible law unconstitutional on the basis that no state may "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." This, however, does not mean that a state cannot treat different classes of people differently. The Court has upheld the right of particular states to charge residents of other states higher "non-resident" tuition at public schools. In this case, the Court ruled that children who are residing in the country illegally have a right to free education paid for by the citizens of any state where they just happen to be living. The average per pupil cost in U.S. public schools is currently $4,800 annually, thus the total cost to taxpayers for educating the children of illegal aliens is running into billions of dollars. This figure does not take into account the extra costs for the bilingual education programs in which many of these students are enrolled.

A number of state courts have delivered rulings extending welfare benefits to illegal aliens. They have based their decisions on the curious legal concept of "Permanent Resident Alien Under Color of Law" (PRUCOL). This doctrine treats illegal aliens as *lawfully present* and thus fully entitled to all public aid, unless the individual alien has been served with a formal deportation order by the INS. An example of how this applies in practice is a 1984 California Court of Appeals ruling that extended medical benefits to illegals who are not undergoing federal deportation proceedings. Since that ruling, California taxpayers have been hit with hundreds of millions of dollars in unreimbursed medical expenses incurred by illegal aliens. If the employers of illegal aliens had to absorb these costs, they would likely have second thoughts about how profitable it is to hire them.

Similarly, in 1984, the Arizona State Supreme Court ruled that counties should reimburse hospitals for treating "resident" illegal aliens. Justice Stanley Feldman, writing for the majority, averred that illegal aliens establish residency in Arizona just by living in a county permanently, provided they do not seek a permanent home elsewhere. As *de facto* county residents, they are entitled to health and other taxpayer-financed welfare benefits.

The state of Illinois tried to remove illegal aliens from its welfare rolls by asking food stamp applicants about their immigrant status. But after the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) filed a lawsuit challenging this directive of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois ordered the IDPA to stop questioning applicants about their nationality.

"...large-scale immigration has doubled U.S. population growth over what it would have been without immigration. Thus, a significant part of the rising cost of public services can fairly be attributed to immigration."

A Federal District Judge in Brooklyn, New York, ruled in 1986 that illegal aliens living in New York State could not be denied Medicaid assistance. In response to a suit filed on behalf of nine "non-legal permanent resident aliens" by Washington Square Legal Services, Judge Charles Sifton declared that the Federal statute creating Medicaid contained "no express restrictions on alien eligibility" and that Federal authorities had thus acted improperly when they forbade Medicaid for illegal aliens. In his decision, Judge Sifton said that those "who are colloquially referred to as 'illegal aliens'" were, more accurately, people who had established permanent residence in this country but who had not yet been granted legal permanent resident status. Thus, through a series of decisions, illegal aliens have been granted "squatter's rights" to the American welfare system.

CITIES AND STATES EXTEND BENEFITS TO ALIENS

Costs incurred by aliens are borne most heavily by state and local governments. The U.S. Congress has opened our borders to millions of people from around the globe, while making the states and cities

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where aliens settle responsible for bearing most of the costs incurred by these newcomers. State and municipal officials complain — correctly — that they are now being overwhelmed by escalating costs associated with the large-scale immigration of poor and unskilled people. And since immigration is a *Federal* issue, they argue, it should be dealt with at that level.

But while they bemoan the costs incurred by the current wave of immigrants, few of them are lobbying in Washington, D.C. for reducing the immigrant flow. On the contrary, throughout the 1980s, many states and municipalities declared themselves "sanctuaries" for aliens and have openly refused to cooperate with the INS in its efforts to apprehend illegal aliens or bar them from public services. Too often, they have offered programs that have tended to encourage aliens to move to their jurisdictions.

"Of those arrested during the Los Angeles riots of May, 1992 many were illegal aliens."

Under pressure from ethnic lobbyists, in late 1983, the Los Angeles County Department of Public and Social Services announced that they would refuse to forward to the INS the names of illegal aliens applying for welfare.

In February 1984, California Governor George Deukmejian ordered the state's Employment Development Department not to implement directives that required non-citizens to provide proof that they were legally entitled to work before they could receive payments. This would have made it more difficult for illegal aliens to get unemployment insurance.

The city of San Jose, California, in May, 1984, declared that it would refuse to cooperate with the INS in weekly sweeps for aliens working illegally in Silicon Valley. Even though these on-site raids opened up jobs for American citizens, San Jose officials charged that the INS was "discriminatory, inhumane, and callous." The San Jose City Council voted 9-2 in favor of a resolution calling for the municipal police, "to the extent legally possible," to withhold any assistance to the INS in searches for illegal aliens employed locally.

In November, 1990, the Los Angeles City Council voted in favor of a set of policy guidelines that placed further restrictions on Los Angeles Police Department cooperation with Federal immigration authorities. As early as 1979, the LAPD, under Special Order 40, was prohibited from contacting the INS when they arrested an illegal alien, unless the alien was guilty of drug charges or a felony. The 1990 City Council action reaffirmed the intent of Special Order 40, and barred the Los Angeles police officers from arresting suspected illegal aliens.

Of those arrested during the Los Angeles riots of May, 1992, many were illegal aliens. When the LAPD handed over some of the alien rioters to the INS, who promised to quickly deport them, immigrant rights activists protested that this was in direct contravention of city policy not to turn over people to the INS. LAPD spokesman Lt. John Dunkin acknowledged that, "This was a departure from our normal policy, but this was not a normal situation."

Other states and municipalities have followed California's lead. In March, 1985, the city of Madison, Wisconsin, barred its police and other employees from cooperating with the INS. The city of Chicago quickly issued similar directives to its officials. The Cambridge, Massachusetts City Council voted in April, 1985, to cease cooperating with the INS and extended educational and health services to illegal aliens.

New York City Mayor Edward Koch issued an executive order prohibiting city agencies from barring illegal aliens from signing up for welfare benefits. Municipal officials could be fired if they attempted to discourage illegal aliens from obtaining taxpayer-provided services. Illegal immigrants who can prove that they have lived in the city for more than two years are even entitled to financial benefits denied to American citizens from out of town. A flier signed by Koch and distributed by the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs in May, 1988, declared, "Immigrant New Yorkers: It's Your City Too! *Documented or undocumented, you are entitled to many City services....*" Illegal aliens were assured that "It is the City's policy not to report you to immigration authorities....I urge you to make use of them [city welfare and education benefits] so you and your family can have the best possible life."

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Mayor Koch went on to emphasize that, "Many of these services are free." It is no surprise that New York, a city perpetually on the brink of bankruptcy, has become a destination of preference for hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens.

Washington, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry, in 1984, ordered municipal agencies not to check the legal status of people applying for city services. As word spread that the nation's capital had become a "sanctuary," illegal aliens flooded into the city.

On May 6 and 7, 1991, Central American immigrants, many of them illegals from El Salvador, engaged in two nights of rioting in our nation's capital. The mayhem followed the shooting of a Salvadoran, Daniel Gomez, during his arrest for drinking in public. During the second night of violence, black and white hoodlums joined the Salvadorans in rioting and looting. After what passes for order in Washington, D.C. was restored, leaders of Washington's immigrant community demanded more Spanish-speaking police officers, better jobs and job-training programs, and more recreational facilities in their neighborhoods.

"California Governor Pete Wilson has pointed out ... 'There is a limit to our ability to absorb immigrant populations.'"

Extending welfare benefits to illegal aliens is a practice that is no longer limited to state and local officials. In 1990, the city of Costa Mesa, California, tried to reserve federally subsidized public housing for U.S. citizens and legal immigrants. But U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Jack Kemp, ruled that, "HUD's community development programs do not require citizenship or lawful resident alien status for eligibility." Kemp went on to remark that, in his opinion, "it would be discriminatory and counterproductive" to prohibit illegal aliens from living in public housing projects. He feared that if Costa Mesa and other cities were allowed to reserve public housing for legal residents this would have an "inflammatory impact in communities that we don't want in America."

Given this scandalous record of failing to speak out for a controlled immigration policy, and then extending benefits to those here illegally, perhaps state and local governments have only themselves to blame for this portion of their financial plight.

STATES ARE PAYING THE PRICE

The settlement of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants is costing taxpayers across the country hundreds of millions of dollars a year. States and cities where aliens concentrate are especially hard hit.

California

California faces a $14 billion state budget deficit as the costs of education, medical care, welfare, and crime escalate. Governor Pete Wilson has pointed out that each category has been significantly inflated by the heavy flow of immigrants — both legal and illegal — into the state. Speaking of the state's recent immigrants, Wilson said, "We have consumers of expensive services, and they continue to grow. ... There is a limit to our ability to absorb immigrant populations."

Figures compiled by California's Department of Finance show that the state has become a magnet for aliens:

- One-third of all refugees admitted by the U.S. settle in California. Of all refugees, 90 percent begin receiving public aid within the first four months of their residency.
- An estimated 200,000 refugees who originally went to other states resettled in California during the 1980s. (Incidentally, there is no constitutional way to require immigrants to live in specified areas, which might help spread their burden.)
- During the 1980s, 1.6 million legal foreign immigrants migrated to California.
- The state experienced an estimated net increase of 1 million illegal aliens during the 1980s. Of that figure, 85 percent of them are Hispanic; another 10 percent are Asian. For scale: combining these three numbers comes to 2.8 million, or more than ten percent of California's 1980 population of 24 million.

Governor Wilson was correct to cite immigration as a major contributor to the state's fiscal crisis. The following is a sample of the costs associated with large-scale immigration to the state:

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- State-funded Medical services for pregnancy and emergency care for illegal aliens will cost an estimated $395 million in 1992.
- Illegal alien children comprise almost 7 percent of the state's total school population. Their education is costing Californians nearly $2 billion a year.

Under current law, most alien children — whether their parents are here legally or illegally — must be taught in their native language in programs that cost, on average, $6600 per student annually, versus $4000 per student per year to educate children who are fluent in English. Nearly 100 languages are now spoken in California schools. And bilingual teachers receive bonuses of up to $5000.

California's schools used to rank among the nation's very finest. But now they are at the bottom of schools in industrial states. As *Newsweek*, May 4, 1992, reported, "the student population is exploding — fueled by a wave of mostly poor, mostly non-English-speaking immigrants — many of them illegal. The situation has grown so desperate ... that California would have to build a new 600-student school *every day for five years* just to maintain its sorry status quo." By the year 2000, the state's student population is expected to rise 46 percent, to nearly 7 million.

As Ted Hilton, director of the San Diego-based Coalition for Immigration Law Enforcement, observed, "Without this [additional educational] financial burden, California could substantially reduce its current budget deficit ... and improve the quality of education of all its lawful residents — including impoverished African-Americans and other minorities, and also legal immigrants — if we didn't have to educate unlawful residents as well."

According to Michael Antonovich, chairman of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles County and its county and city school districts are currently paying an estimated $1.16 billion every year for services provided to illegal aliens. This burden substantially contributed to the Los Angeles Unified School District's 1991 $274 million deficit.

Richard Dixon, Chief Administrative Officer for Los Angeles County, issued a report on April 22, 1991, outlining the impact that illegal immigration is having in their jurisdiction. Said Dixon, "The Federal government's inability to control our nation's borders has resulted in an ever growing impact on the County; the estimated net cost to the County of services provided to undocumented aliens has grown from $207.2 million in 1989-90 to $276.2 million in 1990-91."

Among the categories of largest cost are Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments for the citizen-children of illegal alien parents, who numbered 97,665 [in Los Angeles County] by February, 1991. Total AFDC payments to these new citizen-children increased from $103.9 million in 1988-89 to $249.1 million in 1990-91. "A major concern is that total AFDC payments to these children and their families could easily reach $1 billion a year by the end of the decade, even if illegal immigration levels off. ... The number of citizen-children can be expected to grow due to the high birthrate of the undocumented alien population who are disproportionately of child-bearing age," Dixon's report noted.

During 1990-91, nearly 63 percent of the 57,366 births in Los Angeles County-funded hospitals were to mothers who are illegal aliens, an increase of 40 percent from 1988-89.

Despite increased state and federal funding, the County has been forced to assume an enormous burden for unreimbursed health care costs for illegal aliens, as the following table indicates:

Los Angeles County
Unreimbursed Health Care Costs
1983-1989

1983-84:	$99.8 million
1984-85:	$114.9 million
1985-86:	$123.7 million
1986-87:	$125.8 million
1987-88:	$141.6 million
1988-89:	$163.0 million

(County of Los Angeles
Department of Health Services)

Los Angeles County's Board of Supervisors is to be commended for its interest in trying to determine just how much immigration is costing their

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taxpayers. In regard to San Diego County, an August 1992 report by the state Auditor General's Office concludes that the net cost of undocumented immigrants in that county is $146 million a year. Nine percent of the population of San Diego county is here illegally, including 25,000 children. AFDC funds totalling $11 million assist births to undocumented women. It has been *conservatively* estimated that the net costs of services for the undocumented in San Diego County alone are enough to cover the 1991-92 budget deficits of the county of San Diego and all the eighteen cities of the region.

At the Chula Vista welfare office near the border, the parking lot is often full of cars with Baja [California], Mexico license plates. Rules concerning a client's "privacy" have interfered with efforts to delete illegal aliens from the welfare rolls, despite the fact that illegal aliens arrested by the Border Patrol have been found carrying food stamps and California welfare checks.

"Rules concerning a client's 'privacy' have interfered with efforts to delete illegal aliens from the welfare rolls, despite the fact that illegal aliens arrested by the Border Patrol have been found carrying food stamps and California welfare checks."

Florida

Like California, Florida has been a major preferred destination for aliens from around the world. Approximately one million refugees arrived in Florida during the 1980s, and many remain there.

Immigration has had a significant impact on the state's budget, its tax load, social services, job market, natural resources, and infrastructure. Assistance to Cubans and Haitians who entered in the 1980s has cost Florida taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars.

According to the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitation Services, welfare payments to aliens from Central America who have applied for "refugee" status are costing taxpayers $47 million a year. At the beginning of the 1992 legislative session, the chairwoman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for Health and Rehabilitative Services, State Representative Elaine Gordon (D-North Miami), introduced legislation that would have barred some asylum applicants from receiving welfare. This seemingly sensible measure would have saved Florida taxpayers $23 million or more annually, but in early March, the Florida Senate rejected her bill, after it had passed the House.

In a March 4, 1992 letter to President Bush, Dade County (Greater Miami) Public Schools Superintendent Octavio Visiedo pointed out that 26 percent of their students were born outside of the United States. An average of 1200 foreign-born students enrolled in Miami-area schools each month during the 36-month period ending January, 1992. During 1991-92, the operating expenditure per student came to $4,336. The immediate cost of providing classroom space for the students — who hail from 118 foreign countries — is $136 million, with a long-range construction cost estimated to be $665 million. This does not include operation and maintenance.

Texas

Texas receives the third largest number of immigrants. Immigration has an impact on every aspect of Texas life — education, social service costs, and job displacement.

During the 1980s, 594,628 legal immigrants settled in Texas, and 174,132 more arrived in 1990. The number of illegal aliens living in the state is not known. However, the Border Patrol apprehended 418,705 persons trying to enter Texas surreptitiously from Mexico in 1991. Since the Border Patrol estimates that for every illegal alien arrested, two to three enter undetected, a *low* estimate for illegals entering through Texas in 1991 would be one million or more. How many eventually return home is also not known — the INS stopped keeping records on those leaving the country in 1957.

The cost to Texas taxpayers of educating the children of illegal aliens is heavy and rising. A 1990 Texas news survey determined that illegal aliens were costing schools in the Texas border area as much as $26 million.

State-wide social service costs incurred by aliens are not available, but in 1991, El Paso County estimated that illegal aliens used $3 million in services from the R. E. Tomason General Hospital. To offset health services provided to illegals, El Paso

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taxpayers were hit with a substantial property tax increase for 1992.

In 1991, Valley Baptist Medical Center lost approximately $750,000 because of 420 "drop-in" deliveries for Mexican women; that same year, Edinburg Hospital rendered $31 million in unreimbursed health care to Mexican citizens.

New York

New York ranks fourth among immigrant-receiving states. Most immigrants reside in New York City, 28 percent of whose residents are foreign-born. Since the early 1980s, New York has also been among the states offering the most enticing package of social service benefits to aliens, legal and illegal alike. Although education, health care, and other costs are high, the total cost to taxpayers of this generosity is not known.

Over the past three years, New York City public schools have enrolled 120,000 children from 167 countries. Often illiterate in their native languages, New York City has cut back on the number of regular teachers, while trying to fill vacancies for bilingual instructors, often imported for this purpose. As *The Christian Science Monitor* reported in its issue of May 18, 1992, "After Spanish, the most commonly spoken languages at the schools are Chinese, Urdu, and Bengali. Every notice is sent home in Spanish and English, even report cards. Translators are present at all parent-teacher conferences." Immigrant language programs are costing New York City taxpayers $130.6 million every year.

"Since the early 1980s, New York has also been among the states offering the most enticing package of social service benefits to aliens, legal and illegal alike."

Classroom space is very short. City officials estimate that it will cost $4.3 billion to build new schools and renovate existing structures to accommodate the burgeoning student population. Then, of course, these must be maintained and operated at additional cost.

Vast pools of cheap immigrant labor have driven down wage rates in the New York metropolitan area. Jobs that once paid a salary that allowed an individual to support a family no longer do so. High rates of illegal immigration are redefining the underclass.

Sweatshop industries are booming. Chinatown is a center for such enterprises which specialize in the manufacture of clothing, sporting goods, and toys. Pay seldom averages more than $150 for 60-hour work weeks. And living conditions are grim. In April of 1991, housing authorities discovered that a warehouse in lower Manhattan had been divided into dozens of 6-by-9-foot windowless cubicles, smaller than jail cells. Often shared by two or three occupants, each rented out for $300 a month. The residents all shared one toilet, one shower head, and an encrusted gas stove for cooking. The owner was listed as Wing Tat Realty.

Many "refugees" sponsored by churches and other service agencies have found that the state's welfare benefits exceed wages they might earn, so they do not even bother to look for work. *The Buffalo News*, September 8, 1991, reported that one Tonawanda church that sponsored more than 300 Ukrainians over the previous two years decided not to bring in any more. "It was sad to see what the welfare program here did to the people we sponsored," said the Rev. Mark Hill. Church members were chagrined to learn that welfare provides much more money for families than entry-level jobs. According to Elsa Nachreiner, who works with the refugees, the newcomers' view is: "Why should we work at jobs which do not pay much? We are getting everything we need from welfare."

State lawmakers have been debating the idea of installing an automatic fingerprint-identification system designed to ferret out welfare abusers. Applicants would be fingerprinted and an optical image of their prints sent to a central computer for matching against the fingerprints of everyone on the general welfare rolls. This system would help prevent the fraud of duplicate claims. Los Angeles instituted this system in April, 1992. New York State Senator Tarky Lombardi, Jr., chair of the State Senate Finance Committee, estimates that such a system could save around $75 million annually. An aide to Senator Lombardi, Robert Penna, noted that "welfare fraud is a cottage industry in New York." In general "all you have to do is have a pulse and you qualify."

If enacted nationwide, such a system could save

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taxpayers more than $25 billion a year.

Some communities in New York State are considering rescinding the welcome for "refugees" they extended in the 1980s. An indication that some New York taxpayers have grown weary of granting "sanctuary" to any and all, was reported in *The New York Times*, February 14, 1992. The Suffolk County Legislature, which proclaimed itself a "refugee sanctuary" in 1986, is considering repealing a measure promising illegal aliens that they will not be reported to the INS if they apply for welfare. Said county representative, Rose Caracappa, who supports repeal of their Illegal Immigrants Access Act, "The county is dying right now. With the recession going on and the increase in health and social services rolls, we don't have the caseworkers to handle the influx of cases coming in. I feel that as a legislator it's my responsibility to address the needs of the legal residents, before we address the needs of the illegals."

"Vast pools of cheap immigrant labor have driven down wage rates in the New York metropolitan area. Jobs that used to pay a salary that allowed an individual to support a family no longer do so."

David Grunblatt, chairman of the New York County Lawyer's Association immigration committee, fears that if Suffolk County repeals its welcome for aliens, other parts of the state will do likewise. "It's one of those cases where the first one to jump in the hot water cools it for everyone else," Grunblatt remarked.

Victor Jordan, president of the Caribbean African-American Olive Branch, an advocacy group, fumed that, "Just discussion of the law is enough to intimidate immigrants." Such measures are "used to get rid of them [illegal aliens] in general... to make them feel they'll never succeed in Suffolk County."

Massachusetts

Massachusetts ranks seventh in the U.S. as an immigrant-receiving state and fifth in refugee arrivals. Most state and local government agencies and service providers are not required to collect data that could be used to accurately determine the impact of immigration in the Bay State.

It is known that approximately 245,000 legal immigrants, refugees, and illegal aliens settled in Massachusetts during the 1980s — 110,000 of whom are illegal aliens, according to that state's Office for Refugees and Immigrants.

One-fourth of Lowell's 100,000 residents are from Southeast Asia. At the opening of the school year in 1989, over 10 percent of the state's public school students were bilingual, with a primary language other than English.

The unemployment rate of Southeast Asian "refugees" in Worcester was 50 percent or higher.

According to the latest Census, from 1980 to 1990, the Hispanic component of Massachusetts's population more than doubled, from 141,000 to 288,000. The state's Asian population almost tripled, from 49,000 to 143,000, with the bulk of the increase attributable to immigration.

'REFUGEES' ON WELFARE

Defenders of promiscuous immigration have portrayed refugees as successful people, who often make better citizens than native-born Americans. Nearly two decades after the end of the Vietnam War, Indochinese "refugees" are still pouring into the U.S.

Welfare use by refugees in many areas has been heavy. In San Joaquin County, California, over 78 percent have been receiving public assistance, with 93 percent of the refugee welfare clients claiming AFDC. A United Way study found that the over one million Asian-Pacific aliens living in greater Los Angeles constitute "a community about to explode" that requires massive increases in social and health services. Gary Wong, United Way task force chairman, observed that, "Asians tend to suffer from the stereotype that they are the model minority — the scholars, good incomes, stable family life. This study has identified the other side to that."

Thousands of Laotians have relocated from California to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other states in the interior. Some moved to be with families, living where welfare benefits also happened to be higher. John Petraborg, assistant commissioner of the Minnesota Human Services Department, fears that they will become a permanent welfare class: "We're having talks with leaders of the Hmong community to encourage the idea of self-sufficiency."

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Refugees have quickly learned how to milk the "system" for all it is worth. As Mark Arax reported in the *Los Angeles Times*:

> *Federal, state, and local officials, responding to reports of widespread welfare fraud among Southeast Asian refugees in California, are calling for stronger law enforcement and increased community education to combat the problem. ... New approaches are needed to deter a large number of refugees who are supplementing welfare benefits with thousands of dollars a year in unreported wages. ... The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors will urge better education for refugees about their responsibilities as welfare recipients. Refugees say they can take in considerably more by combining welfare benefits, Medi-Cal, and unreported income [than by working]. [This has] helped create the highest welfare dependency rate in the nation for Asian refugees. ... Several welfare case workers who are Indochinese said that they frequently know when a Southeast Asian family is earning cash from an underground job. But almost always they choose not to investigate, citing cultural reasons and the difficulty of making a successful case against a family.*

Jane Gross, in a special story published by *The New York Times*, December 29, 1991, profiled a Cambodian refugee family who have become "welfare migrants."

Say Vann, his wife, and six children, moved sight unseen from Pennsylvania, their initial American state of residence, to sunny California. "What the Vanns found here [in California] was just what they had hoped for, just what fellow Cambodian refugees promised," she reported. The Vanns have averaged $200 a month more in welfare payments than they received in Pennsylvania, their medical bills are paid for by Medi-Cal, and they obtain $170 a month in food stamps. The Vann family — including Mr. Vann — is being educated at taxpayers' expense. The senior Vann was a foreman in a sugar factory in Phnom Pehn before coming to the U.S. But since arriving here eleven years ago, the family has collected welfare.

The Vanns are representative of the large, poor families who, Governor Wilson warns, are contributing to California's education and health-care crisis, and compounding the impact of the recession. Wilson predicts a fiscal "train wreck" for a state that has 12 percent of America's population and 26 percent of its welfare load, if costs are not curbed and dependent migrants not discouraged from settling there.

CONCLUSION

The granting of social benefits to people who have settled here illegally, while requiring of them few of the duties of citizenship, is undermining the very concept of nationhood. As Daniel James remarks in his recent book, *Illegal Immigration: An Unfolding Crisis* (University Press of America, Inc., 1991), "The concept of community becomes hollow if outsiders can enter it in defiance of its laws and regulations, and swiftly gain entitlements to benefits. The very viability of the U.S. welfare system is threatened when resources for the neediest are diluted by the claims of outsiders, and taxpayers conclude that the number of potential claimants is not limited by national boundaries." ■

Correction

In the Summer 1992 issue of *The Social Contract* (Volume II, Number 4) on page 200 at the bottom of column 2, the sentence should read: "On May 4, 1972, the White House rejected..."

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State and local governments bear the brunt of dealing with the effects of federal immigration policy. So powerful is the taboo barring discussion of the cause — immigration policy itself — that the locals' complaint is reduced to a plea for funds, as these two excellent items show. The essay by Rob Gurwitt, and the editorial which introduced it, are reprinted by permission from the June issue of Governing *magazine, © 1992.*

Back to the Melting Pot

By Rob Gurwitt

[*From the editors of* Governing *magazine.*]

A year ago, a riot swept through a section of Washington, D.C. inhabited largely by immigrants from Central America. The riot was sparked by a rookie black police officer's shooting of a recent Salvadoran immigrant. Two days of looting and burning unveiled deep Hispanic resentment against the city government and its police force.

As I write, Los Angeles is still smoldering. The strongest magnet for immigration — legal and illegal — in the country was the epicenter of one of the worst urban convulsions of the century, as a crowd largely made up of black and Hispanic youths targeted white and Korean-owned businesses. Again, the igniting spark involved the police. Though this time it was white officers exonerated by a white jury for the beating of a black man.

Our cover story by Rob Gurwitt on the challenge state and local governments face in managing the deluge of immigrants had already been written when the Rodney King jury delivered its verdict. But the timing was appropriate, for the waves of immigrants from Central America and Asia that have washed over Los Angeles and other cities in the past decade are the ingredient in any story on problems in urban America.

The pattern is familiar. Federal policy determines how many people with what skills are allowed to enter the country either as immigrants or as refugees. Counting in illegal immigrants, around a million people are arriving every year. But Washington is less willing to pay for resettlement, leaving the burden to state, local and private agencies. The Bush administration is proposing to cut the federal program for refugees almost in half; the money promised for the transition of "legalizing aliens" has been withheld.

So, once more, there is no national plan or standard. The plight of newcomers depends on the programs and resources of the states and cities where they settle. The strain is noticeable, with recent arrivals quickly showing up in overburdened social service and criminal justice systems.

No matter what your feelings are about immigration, this is nuts. We should curtail immigration until we are ready and willing to handle it. We no longer have a vibrant manufacturing sector eager to put new arrivals to work. In fact, the area of Los Angeles experiencing the brunt of the recent riots has lost some 70,000 manufacturing jobs in recent years.

"If you neglect young children and new families when they come in, you are in effect spelling out the standards for the community for the next 10 to 20 years," Gurwitt quotes one county manager as saying. "These immigrants here now are a good portion of our work force and of the citizenry for the 21st century. It doesn't make good sense not to invest in them."

That's right. It does not.

* * * * *

[*The article by Rob Gurwitt.]*

Two and a half years ago, a week shy of Thanksgiving, two young Hmong refugees were shot and killed by a policeman in a town just south of St. Paul, Minnesota. The boys, both of them 13-year-olds, had been in trouble before; this time, they'd stolen a car. They were shot as they tried to escape into a cornfield after a chase.

The Hmong community in St. Paul was stunned. So, for that matter, was the rest of the city. The Hmong come from the mountains of Laos; struggling to make the transition from an ancient, isolated culture to a world of public housing projects and 9-to-5 jobs, they had been keeping a low profile in the city. No one expected to see them showing up in newspaper headlines in so tragic a fashion.

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Worried about the fallout among the boys' Hmong classmates, local authorities asked another newcomer to the city, an Englishman named David Loveridge, to spend some time with them in school. Loveridge had just arrived in St. Paul after 15 years in Southeast Asia, eight of them working at refugee camps in Hong Kong and Thailand. He had come to town to direct a program helping Southeast Asian refugees adjust to this country.

"The Federal government sets the terms under which people from other countries enter, and the states, localities, and a variety of private agencies help them settle here."

That day in school proved to be a somewhat disjointed experience. The young refugees Loveridge talked with all seemed to have taken wholeheartedly to the culture around them. They spoke excellent English. They wore clothes and makeup that fit right in with teen society. A few had even dyed their hair orange. "They had all the paraphernalia of what it takes to be cool," Loveridge recalls. But their reaction to the shooting was not typical — anger at police injustice or concern about racism. Instead, the trauma had exposed something deeper. "They were talking about their fear that spirits of these two dead kids would be on the loose," says Loveridge, "that they would come through their window at night if they didn't do the right things to please them."

Coping with restless spirits is not ordinary fare for social service agencies. But then, these are not ordinary times. As the 1990 Census made abundantly clear, immigrants and refugees are arriving all across America in numbers that have not been seen since the early years of this century. In many places, it is already clear that foreign-born newcomers will be the dominant demographic fact of life for the rest of this century and beyond.

Two years ago, Congress raised the number of regular immigrants allowed into the United States — most of them people with family ties or specific job skills — by about 40 percent, from 492,000 admissions a year to 675,000. Meanwhile, the number of refugees, those brought in because they are fleeing persecution, has been ranging between 130,000 and 140,000 a year. And the best guess is that about 200,000 people are coming to America annually on an illegal basis.

Altogether, it appears to mean at least a million new arrivals a year for the society to absorb in the 1990s. And it means two distinct challenges for state and private agencies they work with.

One of them is simply to open up the obvious avenues to resettlement — bilingual education, English-language courses, job training, and financial and medical assistance. Over the years, a fairly integrated structure of state, local and private agencies has developed to provide those services, usually with funds from the federal government.

The other is the far more nebulous, long-term task of helping newcomers become a part of the community. These new residents come from an astounding array of backgrounds and cultures. In 1990, the top two countries of origin for legal immigrants into this country were Latin American countries: Mexico and El Salvador. Then came two Asian countries: the Philippines and Vietnam. Ranked after that were the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, followed by Korea and China. In all, Asia sent 338,581 legal immigrants in 1990: Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean) accounted for a little over a million although that includes formerly illegal immigrants already in this country who won legal status in the 1980s.

For local government, coming to terms with the deluge has not only meant hiring bilingual staff and translating forms into unfamiliar tongues, but learning to deal with foreign cultures on their own terms. And it has meant helping people of other cultures adapt to this one, especially by bringing newcomers into the political process without threatening longtime residents.

None of it has been easy. Local officials have been called on for everything from soothing landlords enraged by the discovery that tenants were cooking meals over open fires in the living room to explaining to young men that snatching their bride of choice from her home is considered kidnapping in this country. Still, as long as the basic resettlement system held up, the task has seemed manageable, if slow-going.

But state and local officials are now at an unexpected and unwelcome crossroads. The federal money that fueled their efforts to help newcomers

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Keeping the Categories Straight

Any local official who deals with newcomers from abroad quickly learns that labels matter. An "immigrant" has a different legal status from a "refugee" or a "legalized alien," and each is entitled to (or barred from) different Federal programs.

It's not at all uncommon for a single family to have both refugees and immigrants among its members — which means that the Federal government may be willing to subsidize English-language training for one parent, for instance but not the other. The chief categories are:

Immigrants, who form the vast bulk of newcomers. They are admitted to the country according to a system of preferences that include family ties, job skills and, under recent legislation, wealth. Immigrants are, in general, entitled to no special services.

Refugees, who are escaping persecution based on their ethnicity, political beliefs, race, religion or membership in a social group. Their number is set yearly by the U.S. Department of State. For fiscal 1993, 122,000 will probably be admitted. The cash assistance and services to which they are entitled are being cut back drastically.

Asylees, who are already living in this country at the time they apply for refugee protection.

Legalized aliens, who number somewhere between 2.5 and 3 million (or roughly one of every hundred residents of the country). They are former illegal entrants who were granted amnesty under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. States and localities providing them with services are theoretically entitled to reimbursement from the Federal government, but a large chunk of the funds supposedly available has been held back by Washington.

Undocumented or illegal aliens have no legal status. The Census Bureau has estimated their number at 3.3 million — or about the same as at the time of the 1980 Census. Although they are not entitled to any Federal services and tend to shy away from applying for state or local assistance, some states and communities have made it a policy not to discriminate according to immigration status.

become self-sufficient is drying up, just as state and local budgets are withering as well. The result is great uncertainty among the people who deal with immigrants and refugees in state capitols, county courthouses and city halls about whether they can cope with the basic needs of newcomers.

One state, Kentucky, has already shut down its refugee program for lack of funds. Others are hanging by a thread: With the present level of federal cash and medical assistance, "we think we can operate through September 30," says Wayne Johnson, chief of Iowa's Bureau of Refugee Services, "but all we need is one heart transplant and all the projections I've done are in the trash can." With the ability of states and localities to deal with newcomers' immediate needs suddenly up in the air, no one is sanguine about how well the longer-term work of integration into society will go.

This country's basic approach to immigrants and refugees is simple: the Federal government sets the terms under which people from other countries enter, and the states, localities and a variety of private agencies help them settle here. That means that the services and attitudes that immigrants and refugees find can vary considerably from state to state and city to city; there is very little national policy aimed at helping immigrants once they actually arrive on these shores. "The nation," a recent Urban Institute report concluded, "has no deliberate and coherent newcomer integration policy."

But when it comes to the actual provision of services, the system does depend heavily on Federal money. One result is that state and local programs have generally been constructed around Washington's priorities — to help resettle those who qualify as refugees, or to service those legalized by the immigration law passed by Congress in 1986. Helping the vast bulk of ordinary immigrants get their feet on the ground has held only minor interest for the Federal government, so states and localities have developed few programs directed at them.

Now, though, Washington appears ready to turn off the spigot even for the programs it does take an interest in. The Bush administration's proposed fiscal 1993 budget would cut the refugee program almost in half, from $410 million to $227 million — and that measures from levels that had already fallen dramatically over the last decade. According to the Urban Institute, direct aid to refugees, in the form of

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cash and medical assistance, fell from $6,000 per refugee in 1982 to $1,900 in 1991, in constant dollars.

At the same time, some of the money promised to states to offset costs related to education, health and public assistance for the 2.5 million or more so-called "legalizing aliens" — former illegal immigrants — is being withheld. Funding levels for immigrant education, including bilingual education, have been in virtual free-fall.

For states and cities already hit by budget cuts, all this is creating bitterness toward a Federal government that seems willing to pay attention to immigrants only until they've cleared customs. "People are starting to talk about immigrants as a sort of walking unfunded Federal mandate," says Michael Fix of the Urban Institute.

"Los Angeles is the strongest magnet; of the county's 9 million residents in 1990, almost one-third were foreign-born."

The problem, of course, does not affect everyone equally. About three-quarters of all the known immigrants who came to this country between 1980 and 1990 went to just six states: California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey. California alone accounted for 35 percent of the total. Among communities, Los Angeles is the strongest magnet: of the county's 9 million residents in 1990, almost one-third were foreign-born. Moreover, Los Angeles County estimates that roughly 1.5 million of its residents in 1990-91 were undocumented or legalized aliens.

As outsized as Los Angeles' situation is, though, there are places where the numbers are far smaller but the resonance is just as deep. Lowell, Massachusetts has somewhere between 15,000 and 25,000 Cambodian refugees, about a quarter of its population. Wausau, Wisconsin has 2,800 Hmong, out of a total population of 37,000; some of its schools now have classes that are half Asian, in a city that until 1980 was, as its mayor puts it, "one of the lilyest white communities in the nation." In Arlington County, Virginia, Southeast Asians, Hispanics, Afghans, Ethiopians and other refugees have all clustered in distinct neighborhoods, with considerable impact on neighborhood schools and on the county's health care system — tuberculosis cases have doubled in the last year, with 75 percent of them developing among foreign-born residents.

Just as the numbers vary from community to community, so do the levels of strain. Florida, for instance, has huge, already-established communities of Cubans and Haitians that can take it upon themselves to help newcomers get their feet on the ground; nationally, the Jewish community is matching Federal money dollar for dollar to help Soviet Jewish refugees, softening their impact on the cities in which they've settled. On the other hand, Los Angeles County's chief administrative officer estimated that undocumented aliens alone cost the county $276 million for extra services in 1990, and through fiscal 1991, the county had spent a total of $500 million on indigent health care costs just for legalized aliens.

Some states and localities have been doing a much more conscientious job than others. Texas — despite the numbers of immigrants it has received — has historically done very little to provide services for them. Massachusetts, on the other hand, not only declared in 1985 that refugees and immigrants were welcome in the commonwealth, but essentially required all state agencies to consider the newcomers' special needs. The result was a broad array of services, from domestic violence programs for Southeast Asian women to AIDS education radio programs in Haitian Creole and cross-cultural training for mental health providers.

Ironically enough, however, Massachusetts and Texas appear to be moving closer to each other. The Texas legislature recently created an Office of Immigration and Refugee Affairs and placed it under the governor's direct supervision. Although the agency's scope is fairly limited now, it hopes to begin developing a plan this summer for addressing immigrants' impact on the state — "a monumental task," in the words of Marguerite Rivera Houze, the office's deputy director, "because we don't even know what's out there."

Meanwhile, many of Massachusetts' programs have been cut back or eliminated, along with mainstream support systems that were heavily used by new residents, such as general welfare assistance to the able-bodied poor. With those cutbacks, the state is losing its expertise, and especially its

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bilingual capacity. Even should the economy turn around, it will be a long time before it gets it back. "Once those structures are dismantled, we know it will be very difficult to rebuild them," says Regina Lee, director of the state's Office for Refugees and Immigrants.

At the same time, while the so-called "impact states" such as California and Florida have been forced by circumstances to build the most elaborate programs for refugees and immigrants, some of the more interesting approaches have developed in smaller states. Iowa, whose 11,000 refugees would form a small neighborhood in Los Angeles, is one example.

"The result [in Oregon] is that instead of 80 percent of the refugee population relying on cash assistance when their benefits run out, now only 46 percent do."

Normally, the refugee settlement process is handled by a series of private and public agencies, from the private volunteer agency that brings a family into the country and helps it through its first month, to those that take over afterward, providing cash assistance, language instruction and job training. In Iowa, however, the state does it all: it is a resettlement agency and a money and service provider. The refugee bureau functions as welfare office and employment agency at the same time.

Employment is also the centerpiece of Oregon's refugee strategy. When the state began its program in 1985, it found that most of the refugees who'd been there for up to 18 months — the point at which Federal benefits ran out in those years — were relying on cash assistance as their sole source of income. "That was a luxury we couldn't afford," say Ron Spendal, the state's refugee coordinator.

Instead, Oregon decided to "front-load" the system, putting refugees into job training and English-language programs simultaneously. From the day they arrive, refugees are expected to work for their money. "Their assistance check is a paycheck for participation in employment training," says Spendal. "It is not an entitlement." The result is that instead of 80 percent of the refugee population relying on cash assistance when their benefits run out, now only 46 percent do.

There are those who argue that, given the nature of today's economy, job training is the single most important service that government can provide. "European immigrants could aspire to the middle class because of the manufacturing base, even if they didn't speak English," says Massachusetts' Regina Lee. "Nowadays, there are very few manufacturing jobs left that pay a decent wage, so today's immigrants face an economy where they need more English skills and a higher level of skills just to get entry-level jobs."

Meanwhile, at the local level, leaders are looking for creative ways to deal with the problem of community integration. The city of Pasadena, California, besides mailing newsletters in Spanish and Armenian and providing a bilingual telephone information line, is looking for ways to have immigrant groups provide more services to their own communities. "We're moving slowly but tentatively away from the idea that white people should provide the appropriate services to non-white people," says Rick Cole, the city's mayor. "The idea is to build some self-sufficiency."

In Arlington, the county created a series of videotapes in different languages going over some of the fundamentals of living in this country — cooking in the kitchen, for instance, and leaving windows closed when the air conditioning is on. It has set up apartment-based centers for language and job training, and developed a program in the county's many hotels giving release time to employees to learn English.

In Merced County, California, which is home to huge numbers of Southeast Asian refugees, the county government has been working to convince the Hmong community that for families to survive, people other than the father will probably have to work. It has been a hard sell, as has the notion that women and children are eligible for services. But local officials insist it is vital. "It's the sort of learning that the rest of us do through growing up in this country," says John Cullen, the Human Services director. "Society expects Southeast Asians to become successful overnight, but it didn't happen to any of us in this country, and it's sort of unrealistic to expect it of people who come from a 14th-century country."

In Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Broward County is

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setting up what Ellen Rodriguez, the county refugee coordinator, calls a "cultural and linguistic brokering agency." In an effort to make its services more widely available, the county is funding bilingual case management programs, a multilingual telephone access line — in French, Haitian Creole, Spanish, Romanian, Vietnamese and Chinese — and an interpretation service available to county agencies both at scheduled times and in emergencies.

"The county is funding ... a multilingual telephone access line — in French, Haitian Creole, Spanish, Romanian, Vietnamese and Chinese..."

Rodriguez believes that by intervening early, the county may be able to save itself money down the road. "If we get a call from someone who tells us some woman is going to work and leaving three kids home alone, we can intervene and get her day-care help before child protective services are called," she says. "There are lots of areas where interpretation could prevent people from getting into trouble and costing taxpayers money."

For all the innovative ideas, though, the somewhat-disjointed system is not really managing all the needs it faces, especially in light of Federal cutbacks. To take one small example, cuts in medical assistance aim directly at what may well be the single most heavily used service provided to newcomers. Refugees in particular have been arriving with conditions made especially dire by years of neglect. "We're seeing people with longstanding chronic health problems," including tuberculosis and hepatitis B, says Oregon's Ron Spendal. "It is an almost dangerous situation."

Just as worrisome is the growing incidence among immigrant families of drug abuse, alcoholism and gang activity. In St. Paul, for instance, not only are Southeast Asians beginning to show up in the area's criminal justice systems, but mental health problems have been on the upswing as well. "Things don't necessarily get better the longer you've been here," says David Loveridge. "One of the things that buoys people in the camps is that however miserable things are, there is a future. But when people come here, they're no longer refugees, they're exiles; for some of them, the future ends here, it doesn't begin. So you see people who survived all sorts of appalling events fall to pieces here."

The result is considerable strain on the local social service system, says Diane Ahrens, a county commissioner in St. Paul. "Our normal mental health system is equipped to deal with people who speak our language and understand our culture. We don't frankly have the professionals to deal with this kind of issue." As a result, the state, county and city are funding a program through a local foundation, directed by Loveridge, to train Southeast Asians as "paraprofessionals" to work with troubled refugees.

But just as the ability of state and local governments to provide those basic services is being called into question, they are recognizing deeper needs as well, such as how to deal with the emergence of a multicultural community. In Pasadena, Rick Cole notes that the local daily newspaper reaches only a third of the city's households. "We are facing what *Time* called the 'Fraying of America,'" he says. "Immigration is on the one hand reinfusing our community with some of the positive values that our culture has seen erode, such as hard work, family and spiritual values. On the other hand, in many cases there's not a high value placed on citizenship in the larger sense of the word — being part of government, and seeing government as owned by the people." Local governments, he argues, will have to address that issue head on. "We can't force people to adopt particular values, but I think the encouragement of certain values in the society is absolutely essential," he says.

It is not going to be easy to find a way to teach newcomers democracy when there is scarcely enough money available to teach them English. But failing on either count will be costly, says Arlington County Manager Tony Gardner. "If you neglect young children and new families when they come in, you are in effect spelling out the standards for the community for the next 10 to 20 years — if you don't educate children or invest in educating and employing parents, you end up spawning problems for the community as a whole. These immigrants here now are a good portion of our work force of the citizenry for the 21st century. It doesn't make good sense not to invest in them." ■

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We appreciate this contribution from Lance T. Izumi, director of the Claremont Institute's Golden State Center for Policy Studies, located at Sacramento. Previously, he served as speechwriter for U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, III, and as chief speechwriter for California Governor George Deukmejian.

What Are the Costs of California's Porous Borders?

By Lance T. Izumi

Isn't it interesting how some issues of great concern to the American people are never mentioned in our public policy discussions. Take, for example, illegal immigration. In a 1990 Roper Poll, almost three-quarters of those surveyed said they believed illegal immigration was a serious problem in America. Further, nearly 80 percent of those polled felt that the United States was doing only a poor to fair job in controlling illegal immigration.

With numbers like that you would think that illegal immigration would be right up there with drugs, crime, taxes, and health care as one of our most hotly debated national issues. Instead, what we get is a deafening silence. The presidential contenders have said nary a word on the subject. Here in California, the state most affected by illegal immigration (100,000 illegal immigrants settle in California every year), the vast majority of our politicians have not uttered a peep about the issue (commendably, Governor Wilson has pointed out that illegal immigration is a significant cause of the state's fiscal woes).

This abdication of responsibility by our elected representatives is appalling. Our politicians fail to realize what the American people realize instinctively, that is, that illegal immigration is imposing very real costs on our society. While our officials blather on about the wonders of diversity and multiculturalism, the average citizen knows that the reality is a far different story.

There are three significant costs imposed by illegal immigration. The first is monetary. Now, no one disputes the fact that immigrants are an important economic resource, providing, for instance, a source of labor for industries such as agriculture. We must be careful, however, to balance benefits such as lower food prices with costs such as increased taxes needed to fund government programs which benefit illegal immigrants.

For example, in Los Angeles the net cost of providing health, education and welfare benefits to illegal aliens and their children rose by almost $70 million (a 34 percent increase) over the past two years to a total of $276 million. Los Angeles county officials have warned that welfare costs alone could reach $1 billion by the end of the 1990s.

> ***"There are three significant costs imposed by illegal immigration ... monetary ... social costs such as increased crime ... [and] the intangible costs [such as tolerating illegality]."***

At the state level, taxpayers foot the bill for a variety of immigrant programs. In education, spending for the Economic Impact Aid/Bilingual Education program has more than doubled from $142 million in 1979-80 to $305 million in 1991-92. (A whopping budget of $347 million is proposed for 1992-93.) Add in the cost of illegal immigration to state welfare, health care and law enforcement programs and you end up with a very large bill for California taxpayers to pay.

Such purely monetary costs, however, are only one facet of the illegal immigration problem. Another aspect involves social costs such as increased crime. Many of those participating in the looting and pillaging in the recent Los Angeles riots were illegal aliens. Currently, California's state prisons hold 15,000 illegal aliens convicted of felony crimes. Not only do these illegal aliens / felons force the state to

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pay $300 million annually in additional correctional costs, one must also remember the agony and suffering that their victims have been forced to endure. This is not a judgment on the inherent criminal proclivities of illegal aliens. These figures do say, however, that society is bearing extensive costs, and it would be wrong for us to ignore the fact.

Finally, there are the intangible costs. We are a nation of laws, and, as liberals like to point out, no person should be above the law. Tolerating illegal immigration, however, allows an entire class of people to be above the law. How can we expect the rest of the members of our society to obey our laws if we allow such open flouting of our immigration laws?

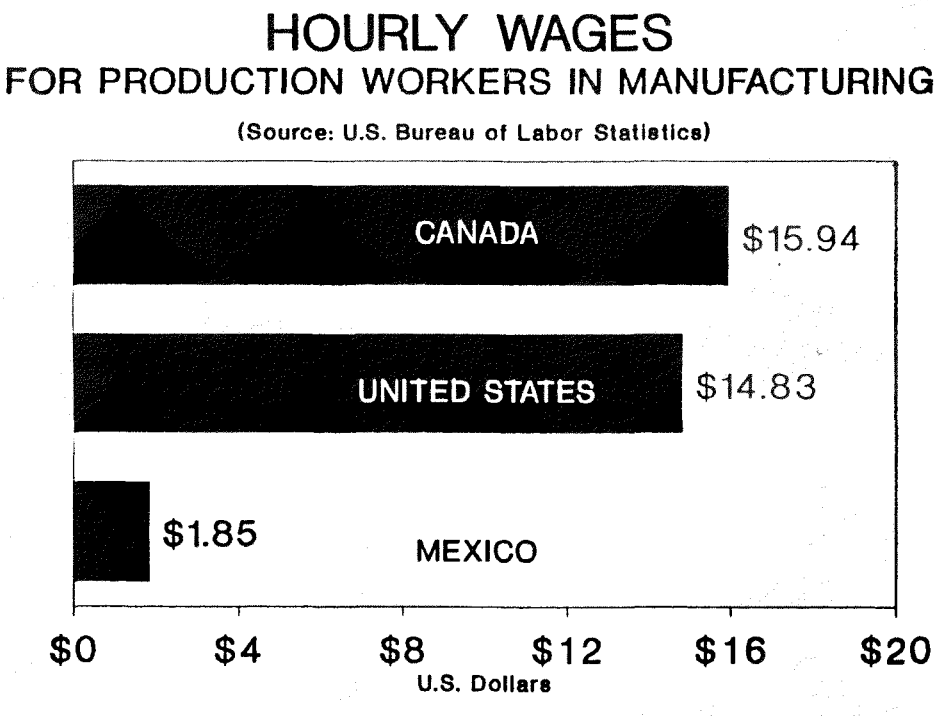
An even more important intangible cost is the strain that such large-scale immigration places on the assimilation process. The huge barrios of our inner cities have become breeding grounds for all manner of social pathologies, including a thriving youth gang culture. As ever-increasing numbers of illegal immigrants flood into these areas, existing social problems are exacerbated and the possibility of assimilation into mainstream American society becomes more and more remote. California, therefore, risks becoming a cauldron of turmoil and division.

In Jean Raspail's classic novel *The Camp of Saints*, the author tells the tale of a massive flotilla of Third World refugees setting sail for France. The French Government, paralyzed by guilt, does nothing to stop the armada. The novel ends with France and French civilization collapsing as riots and disorder sweep the country.

California may not be at the stage of collapse, but as the events in Los Angeles demonstrate, we are close. ■

Wages and Trade

Critics of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) fear that substantial numbers of U.S. jobs will be lost to Mexico. Here is a comparison of 1990 North American wages in U.S. dollars for production workers in manufacturing.



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California again leads the nation — this time in trying to quantify the costs of immigration. We present here the executive summary of the final report of the Los Angeles County ad hoc Subcommittee on Criminal Aliens, Countywide Criminal Justice Coordination Subcommittee, Supervisor Deane Dana, Chairman. The report was issued July 15, 1992.

Impact of Repeat Arrests of Deportable Criminal Aliens in Los Angeles County

In July 1992, the Countywide Criminal Justice Coordination Committee (CCJCC) concluded a follow-up study of rearrests among deportable aliens and their impact on the criminal justice system in Los Angeles County. This was a longitudinal study of the rearrest patterns of a group of County jail inmates who, upon release from custody in May 1990, were identified by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as deportable aliens. Both the May 1990 survey and this follow-up study were strictly limited to identified deportable aliens who had been arrested and/or convicted of criminal offenses under California state law. The great majority of persons (83 percent) included in these studies were, in fact, convicted criminals who should be differentiated from the vast majority of immigrants who have come to the United States and to this County in search of work and a better way of life.

"This study clearly demonstrates that deportable aliens involved in criminal activity are indeed a burden on the local justice system."

The follow-up study targeted a group of 1,933 deportable aliens who were identified in the May 1990 study, and entailed a comprehensive analysis of local, state and Federal criminal records for the 12-month period beginning June 1, 1990 and ending May 31, 1991. Both research projects were designed to provide information needed for the establishment of new policies and procedures which would expedite the identification of deportable aliens who are convicted of criminal offenses in Los Angeles County.

During this study, all 1,933 deportable aliens identified were tracked through the various systems identified above to establish the number of times that they had been recorded in the various systems for arrests prior to May 1990, and Target Year and subsequent arrests and convictions. The data revealed that 1,875 of the original study defendants were trackable deportable aliens. No verifiable information could be found for 58 defendants.

FINDINGS

Over 50 percent of the 1,933 defendants in the May 1990 study identified as deportable criminal aliens were returned to their country of origin by either voluntary removal or deportation.

- 663 deportable criminal aliens were voluntarily returned by INS to their country of origin without formal proceedings, and deportation proceedings were initiated for 311 defendants who were either formally deported or voluntarily returned to their country of origin by INS.

Over 40 percent of the 1,875 trackable defendants had been rearrested within one year of release through IRC.

- Over 40 percent or 772 defendants had been rearrested during the Target Year (June 1, 1990 through May 31, 1991) following the May 1990 study.
- 772 defendants were rearrested for a total of 1,522 arrests.
- The average number of rearrests per person for the 12 month Target period was 1.97.

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87 percent of the rearrests occurred in Los Angeles County.

- 87 percent (1,318) of the 1,522 rearrests during the Target Year occurred within the county.

29 percent of the rearrest charges involved drug violations.

- 29 percent of the rearrest charges involved drug violations followed by 28% for crimes against property.

Cumulative arrests totalled 10,989.

- Prior to and following May 1990, 1,536 deportable aliens accounted for 10,989 arrests from 1958 to February 1992.
- 339 deportable aliens had only one indicated arrest leading to incarceration and inclusion in the May 1990 study.
- 87 percent (9,604) of the cumulative arrests occurred within Los Angeles County.

Of the 772 persons rearrested during the Target Year, 75 percent (578) were known to have been convicted.

- There were a total of 578 conviction charges with 33 percent involving drug violations and 32 percent for crimes against property.
- 52 percent of the defendants received an average of 123 jail days as a condition of probation.
- 25 percent of the defendants received prison sentences averaging 2.7 years.

Estimated annual impact of deportable aliens on the criminal justice system in Los Angeles County is $75,165,000.

Methodology of the Report

The original survey in May of 1990 involved a comprehensive INS screening of all identifiable foreign-born inmates released through the Inmate Reception Center (IRC) at Men's Central Jail to determine the extent to which prisoners in the Los Angeles (L.A.) County Jail were deportable under Federal immigration laws. Since all inmates exit the jail system through IRC, this study provided a one-month "snapshot" of the custody population and a statistical profile of persons who were identified as deportable by INS. In May 1990, 17,774 inmates were released through IRC of which 3,227 were persons who had been born outside of the United States. All foreign-born inmates were screened by INS resulting in the identification of 1,933 deportable aliens or 11 percent of the total number of released inmates. Although a significant number of these individuals were exiting the jail system to be incarcerated in state prison, most were being released after being convicted and serving their sentences in the County jail.

To further understand the impact of deportable aliens on the local criminal justice system, the follow-up study was undertaken to analyze the extent to which deportable aliens are rearrested during a one-year period. This study entailed a comprehensive criminal records analysis for 1,875 of the 1,933 persons identified during the one-month survey. The review of records provided specific criminal history data:

- Number of rearrests
- Number of new convictions
- Most serious new charge for each new arrest
- Most serious conviction for each new arrest
- Sentence type, i.e. probation, jail, prison, fine for each new conviction
- Sentence length for each new conviction
- Number of INS contacts prior to May 1990 and during the year succeeding May 1990.

For those defendants who had extensive contact with the criminal justice system, the following data elements were also captured:

- Total number of addresses, compiled from the list of addresses carried in the local automated justice systems as reported by the defendant at each new arrest
- Number of other names ("also known as" or AKAs) used by the defendant

The follow-up study included data retrieved through computer searches of local, state and Federal justice information systems including the Justice Data System, Municipal Court Information System, Juvenile Automated Index, the California Law Enforcement Telecommunications System, the Department of Motor Vehicles System, and the National Crime Information Center System. ■

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- 11 percent of the County jail population were estimated as deportable aliens based on the May 1990 study.
- Over $683,318,000 was budgeted by the County for the processing of all adult criminal cases and defendants in FY 1991-92, of which 11 percent can be attributable to deportable aliens based on CCJCC's May 1990 study of the County jail population.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study clearly demonstrates that deportable aliens involved in criminal activity are indeed a burden on the local justice system. The follow-up analysis verifies that significant numbers of deportable aliens who are removed from the country do, in fact, return to Los Angeles County and sustain new contacts with the criminal justice system. Legislation is needed to firmly establish Federal responsibility for this problem, and to provide immediate relief to local jurisdictions.

"[The] estimated annual impact of deportable aliens on the criminal justice system in Los Angeles County is $75,165,000."

The data collection and analysis procedures required for the follow-up study revealed other problems. Formal deportation orders against criminal aliens are not routinely shared and there needs to be more effective coordination between Federal, state and local justice agencies in the positive identification and tracking of deported aliens who continue to be involved in criminal activities.

Therefore, the Subcommittee on Criminal Aliens recommends that CCJCC urge the Board of Supervisors to:

1. Approve the report on the impact of Repeat Arrests of Deportable Criminal Aliens in Los Angeles County.

2. Direct the CAO and the County's representatives in Washington, D.C. to continue efforts to enact new legislation and Federal policies which will transfer greater financial and legal responsibility for deportable criminal aliens to the Federal government and which will specifically:

- Establish programs for the transfer of deportable criminal aliens in county jails to serve sentences for state crimes in Federal correctional facilities.
- Provide Federal reimbursement to local jurisdictions for the cost of arrest, prosecution and incarceration of deportable criminal aliens.
- Provide resources to expedite the development and implementation of a nationwide automated fingerprint identification system for deportable criminal aliens.
- Mandate the prompt reporting of criminal alien deportation orders to state and Federal criminal record systems with requirements that all such reports include a standard of positive identification based on the national Automated Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS).

3. Direct the Countywide Criminal Justice Coordination Committee to:

- Continue cooperative efforts between local and Federal agencies to develop programs which will expedite the positive identification and formal deportation of criminal aliens.
- Work with Federal agencies to develop recommendations for policies and procedures to ensure the timely reporting of criminal alien deportation orders to state and Federal criminal record systems.
- Work with Federal agencies to develop recommendations to ensure greater coordination in the development of Automated Fingerprint Identification Systems (AFIS) for deportable criminal aliens. ■

[Copies of the entire report are available from the Board of Supervisors, Hall of Administration, 500 West Temple Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012; telephone (213) 974-5555.]

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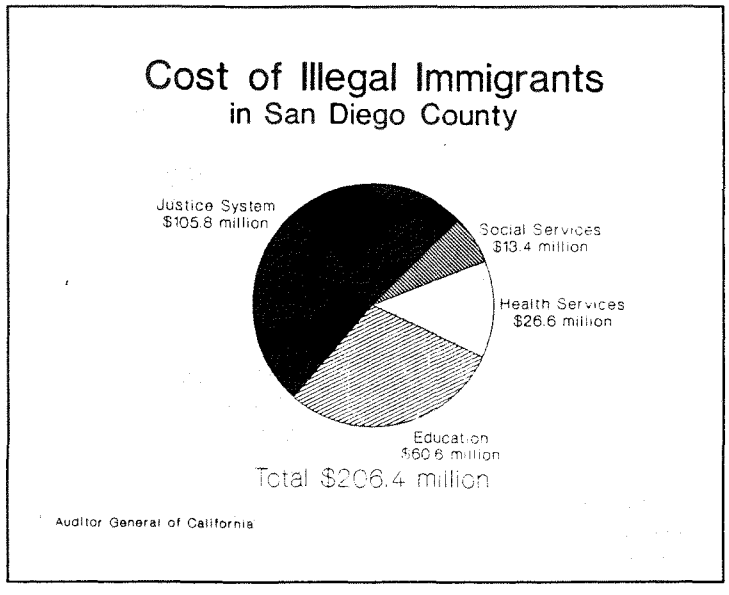
Associate editor Wayne Lutton summarized for us a new report of the costs of illegal immigration in San Diego County, California.

Study: Illegal Immigrants Cost San Diego Millions

By Wayne Lutton

Illegal immigrants cost state and local governments in San Diego County a total of $206,411,969 in 1991, according to a report released in August by the Auditor General of California. The costs were divided into four major areas:

- Criminal Justice, $105,754,121
- Education, $60,666,755
- Health Services $26,619,920
- Social Services, $13,371,173



The San Diego border sector accounts for an estimated 50 percent of the illegal entries into the United States. The number of illegal immigrants who cross the border has been increasing every year since the Immigration Reform & Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) became law.

During the 1991-92 fiscal year, 600,000 illegal aliens were apprehended in the San Diego area. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials estimate that they catch one-in-three or as few as one-in-five who cross illegally. Other sources suggest the ratio may be only one-in-ten. From this, it would appear that there were 1.8 million to 5 or 6 million illegal crossings during the past fiscal year. While this number does not reflect an individual who may enter the United States more than once, it does indicate the level of activity taking place on the border in the San Diego area.

The two-year study was prepared at the request of the California Senate Select Committee on Border Issues by Professors Louis Rea and Richard Parker, of the School of Public Administration and Urban Studies at San Diego State University. Based on state population estimates, they found that around 200,000 illegal immigrants reside permanently in San Diego County — about 5 percent of California's total illegal immigrant population. Extrapolating from the figures for San Diego County, the report suggests that illegals cost state and local governments in California a minimum of $3 billion annually (this understates the total cost to taxpayers, since many social welfare programs are funded, at least in part, by the Federal government).

The study provides a profile of illegal aliens residing in the San Diego area. Their median age is 25.5 years. Most come from Central Mexico, especially Mexico City. Nearly 75 percent have less than a 6th grade education. Over 71 percent have children (the mean number being 2.5). Thirty percent of the illegals admitted that they work with a forged Social Security card, and half of them have done so for more than five years.

Acting Auditor General Kurt Sjoberg pointed out that the findings are tentative and likely *underestimate* total costs, since a number of agencies involved undercounted their costs. For example, only 9 of the 22 county hospitals cooperated with the

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team that prepared the study.

The report confirms that the taxes paid by illegal immigrants are small compared to the amount of public services which they consume. Illegals comprise at least 9 percent of the population of San Diego County. They account for the following statistics:

- 18.3% of those arrested for felonies in the City of San Diego and 12.5% of those arrested for felonies in the County are illegals. According to law enforcement agencies, this understates the problem, since many suspected illegals provide forged identification documents. The major types of felonies they commit are burglary (21.6%), theft (26%), and drug offenses (26.2%). Illegals' involvement in drug usage has increased at a substantially higher rate than the population at large. Of those illegal aliens convicted of felonies, only one-third actually received jail or prison time.
- Illegals are eligible for restricted Medi-Cal benefits — the research team determined that they consume 18.3% of the services provided in community clinics and public health facilities.
- It has been estimated that 16% of the state's public school attendees are foreign-born immigrants. The annual cost per student is $4,328. Most qualify as Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students. The total cost incurred by taxpayers is not included in the report's findings.
- Among the Social Service costs are Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), provided to children of illegals who are born in the United States. Technically, it is the citizen-child who qualifies for the program, but the child's family actually receives the payment and is supported, at least in part, by these funds. Currently, citizen-children of illegals living in San Diego County are receiving $23,365,200 annually.

State Senator William Craven (R-Oceanside), chairman of the Select Committee on Border Issues, emphasized that the costs of illegal immigration "outweigh the contributions of the undocumented. The impacts are even greater than anticipated. The conservative estimated net costs of services to the undocumented in San Diego County alone are enough to cover the 1991 budget deficits of the county of San Diego and all 18 cities in the region. ... The magnitude of the impact must be determined and addressed." He has promised that further hearings will be conducted on the issue. ■

[Copies of report No. C-126, *A Fiscal Impact Analysis of Undocumented Immigrants Residing in San Diego County* are available for $7.00 per copy. Contact the Office of the Auditor General, 600 "J" Street, Suite 300, Sacramento, CA 95814; or telephone (916) 445-0255.]

The Strategy of Low Wages

"The increasingly immigrant-generated population growth is part of a *de facto* low-wage industrial strategy which compounds the difficulty of providing a better standard of living for all Americans, now and in the future."

— Frank Morris,
Dean of Graduate Studies and Urban Research,
Morgan State University, Baltimore
(At the recent Carrying Capacity Issues conference).

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The previous articles in this feature section are early if not first attempts to quantify the costs of immigration. Our counterparts in Australia are much further along than we are in thinking and methodology in this area. As an example of what we in the U.S. might do, we present the work of Stephen J. Rimmer, a Senior Economist with the Australian Federal Public Service. He is the author of The Cost of Multiculturalism, *briefly reviewed in our Summer 1992 issue, page 251.*

The Cost of Multiculturalism:

The Australian Experience

By Stephen Rimmer

In the mid 1970s, Australian governments adopted the policy of multiculturalism. The essence of multiculturalism came to be accepted as providing all Australians — regardless of ethnic background, race and religion — equality and freedom. However, this policy has also seen the growth of government funded ethnic groups which have exerted considerable influence over Australia's immigration program. By the late 1980s there was growing public debate in Australia about the economic and social costs of multiculturalism.

The policy of multiculturalism receives strong support from all major political parties. However, there is a considerable degree of confusion about "multiculturalism," because official government definitions have been changed regularly to portray the policy as being "all things for all people." Initially, multiculturalism highlighted the "rights" of ethnic Australians. It has also come to be associated with affirmative action policies in favor of ethnic minorities and been used to describe cultural and ethnic diversity.

Despite such ambiguity, all opinion polls and independent studies in Australia illustrate clearly that the vast majority of the population opposes the policy of multiculturalism. Public opposition has developed primarily because multicultural policy in practice is seen by the public to be inconsistent with official government definitions.[1] This policy has been implemented through growing government patronage, regardless of the political party in office. By the late 1980s, multiculturalism had come to be associated with extensive government spending and regulation of economic and cultural activities. Increasingly, Australian governments employed ethnicity as a criterion for the allocation of public goods and services for a wide range of cultural and economic activities. In addition, it had become apparent that powerful and unelected ethnic leaders and organizations were receiving large amounts of money — in the form of covert grants — from Federal, State and local governments. Government funding which specifically aims to attain multicultural goals is usually called "multicultural funding."

MULTICULTURALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The policy of multiculturalism was primarily a product of government patronage during the 1970s, when selective government funding was used to assist ethnic leaders to establish ethnic organizations. The magnitude and scope of such funding expanded quickly because of competition among politicians to attract the so-called "ethnic vote."[2] Special funds were established by governments for multicultural and ethnic activities which were not available to the majority population. This led to the development of a "multicultural lobby" which comprises an organized network of ethnic leaders, politicians, sections of the bureaucracy and media, and other beneficiaries of government funding.

By the late 1980s, over 20 members of Australia's Federal Parliament held dual citizenship, apparently contravening sections of the Australian Constitution which disqualify persons with foreign citizenship from holding elected office. However, no legal action has been taken against such persons, most of whom are prominent supporters of multiculturalism in the Australian Parliament. In addition, due to widespread public opposition to the policy, Australian governments deliberately suppressed the dissemination of information regarding the potential economic and social costs of multiculturalism.

Criticism of multicultural policy is often met

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automatically by claims of "racism," thereby diverting attention away from informed debate of the facts and forcing individuals to justify themselves and prove their "innocence." For example, in the mid 1980s, one of Australia's most respected historians, Professor Geoffrey Blainey, criticized aspects of multiculturalism, claiming the policy could increase racial and ethnic tensions and threaten national security. Supporters of multiculturalism then instigated a coordinated public attack designed to undermine his reputation and standing in the community. This campaign was successful in polarizing public debate. It also led to serious threats to the personal safety of Professor Blainey.

The personal attacks on Professor Blainey were unprecedented in Australia since the early 1950s, where individuals thought to hold left-wing views were undermined through a campaign instigated by governments and pressure groups. In 1988, a similar campaign was conducted by the multicultural lobby against the then-Leader of the Federal Opposition, Mr. John Howard, who expressed concerns about multicultural policies. This campaign resulted in Mr. Howard's being replaced as Leader of the Opposition by a supporter of multicultural policies, Mr. Andrew Peacock.

"Federal, State and local governments [in Australia] are likely to spend over A$100 million each year simply promoting, supporting and justifying the policy of multiculturalism."

By 1988 it had become apparent that habitually calling people "racists" had undermined support for the policy of multiculturalism, even among potential supporters. Indeed, the Federal government had developed more subtle means of regulating and controlling public debate about multiculturalism, through allocating supervised funding and grants to the multicultural media, pressure groups, university centers for multicultural studies and individuals supporting current policy.

The criteria and terms of reference of multicultural funding are usually designed to highlight supposed benefits to Australia from multicultural policy. Such funding has led to a proliferation of thousands of reports, books, and monographs supporting this policy. The *modus operandi* would usually start with governments funding research projects which would "discover unmet needs," recommending more government funding and patronage for the multicultural lobby.

When specific criticisms are made of this policy, researchers and academics are usually commissioned by government organizations such as the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) — which reports directly to the Prime Minister through the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet — to undermine and refute claims critical of this policy. The effect of such funding has been to distort and manipulate public debate.

Federal, State and local governments are likely to spend over A$100 million each year simply promoting, supporting and justifying the policy of multiculturalism. It includes the subsidizing of the multicultural media; academics and researchers who support this policy; and "education" programs for children, students and the community. However, the full extent of multicultural funding is unknown, partly because it is often allocated in a covert manner. During the late 1980s, an investigation of the fiscal impact of multiculturalism discovered extensive covert government funding.[3] In response, various government-funded academics, such as Dr. James Jupp, denied covert payments were made.[4] However, Federal government documents leaked to *The Age* newspaper in 1990 proved that governments were involved in substantial covert funding of ethnic groups and their leaders.[5]

By the late 1980s, the multicultural lobby in Australia turned its attention to modifying the legal system. Various ethnic groups have lobbied — with some success — for special treatment within the legal system for "ethnic" Australians. Indeed, newspapers such as the *Australian Muslim Times* recently claimed that different ethnic and religious groups should have their own legal system. The Australian Law Reform Commission, which oversees changes to Australia's legal system, has also recommended changes to the legal system which would change fundamental legal principles, including the concept of equality before the law for all citizens and the principle of "ignorance is no excuse".

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The implementation of multiculturalism in Australia illustrates how democratic processes, the legal system, and even the Constitutions can be circumvented and manipulated by powerful vested interest groups.

HIDING THE COSTS OF MULTICULTURALISM

The implementation of multicultural policies has imposed a number of social and economic costs on Australia.

• **Wasteful targeting of government goods and services.** Over the last fifteen years governments have developed extensive criteria for categorizing all Australians according to their ethnic background, and using such categories for allocating public goods and services. The most common method of ethnic categorization used by governments is language rather than racial background. Australian governments indiscriminately classify all non-English-speaking background (NESB) persons as "disadvantaged." Persons and groups classified as "disadvantaged" receive preference in almost all government programs, funding and recruitment. Therefore, governments are able to discriminate in favor of some Australians and against others on the basis of ethnicity, while at the same time claiming to be helping only those in genuine individual need.

Targeting individuals for affirmative action and preference on the basis of language *background* — as distinct from ability to *speak* English — is a highly inefficient, wasteful and inequitable method of service provision.

• **Transaction costs of multicultural regulations.** Transaction costs are incurred within an organization through writing reports, undertaking research and other administrative functions. The policy of multiculturalism increases these costs. For instance, Federal government multicultural regulations such as the "Access and Equity" plan require all government departments to establish contacts with the multicultural lobby, to insure that they influence policy formulation and implementation. These regulations also require all departments to classify employees according to language background and provide preference in recruitment to NESB applicants, therefore abandoning recruitment based on individual merit.

Those departments which do not attain quotas established by the Federal government's "Equal Opportunity Unit" are assumed to be "guilty" of discrimination and receive special attention from this unit and the OMA until targets are achieved. Yet most independent Australian research into the issue of workplace discrimination illustrates that migrants in Australia rarely — if ever — encounter workplace discrimination and statistically obtain employment consistent with their level of education and experience.[6] Such studies are usually ignored by the multicultural lobby.

"The lack of English language skills in the workplace imposes substantial economic costs in the form of lost productivity and reduced international competitiveness."

Increasingly, Australian governments also provide information in dozens of "community languages" requiring additional spending on translation, interpretation and printing services. Multicultural regulations require the employment of yet more staff to carry out functions such as filling out forms, working with multicultural groups, preparing submissions to regulatory organizations within government, and categorizing staff according to language-background categories developed by governments. These costs (known as "paper burden" costs) increase the running costs of government — including salaries, administration expenses, and minor capital works / equipment. Even if one were to assume that additional "paper burden" costs imposed on governments by multicultural regulations were only a small proportion of these running costs, across all government departments the total cost would be substantial. These costs are not identified separately in government budget papers and are therefore effectively hidden from the public in larger categories of administrative expenses, such as personnel management and training.

• **Efficiency, productivity and international competitiveness.** Throughout the 1980s, Australian governments reduced emphasis on the ability to speak and read English in the selection of new

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immigrants and the recruitment to the public service. The lack of English language skills in the workplace imposes substantial economic costs in the form of lost productivity and reduced international competitiveness. For example, in 1989 the OMA estimated the poor English language skills cost Australia A$3.2 billion each year in additional communication time needed in the workplace.[7] This estimate was used to justify more government spending on English language training. In addition, it was claimed in a report published by the Federal government-funded Bureau of Immigration Research that lost output owing to unemployment caused by lack of English language skills could be as high as A$1.6 billion per year.[8] The lack of English language skills also increases workplace accidents. In addition, increased welfare spending for immigrants who could not speak English and were unemployed in 1991-92 was estimated by the prominent academic Dr. Bob Birrell to be A$340 million.[9] While the total cost of English language training is unknown, the Federal government in 1990-91 allocated approximately A$300 million directly for English language training. In all, the lack of English language skills in the workplace could cost Australia over A$5.4 billion per year — equal to 1.5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

"Until accurate information about government spending on multi-culturalism is made available by governments, an informed public debate ... will not be possible."

However, this estimate of the economic cost of lack of English language skills does not include spending by State and local governments for language training of employees who have difficulty communicating in English. Nor does it include substantial spending on language training by commerce and industry.

- **Industry assistance.** Governments often provide industry assistance to firms and industries which are associated with multicultural goals, such as the creation of ethnic diversity. However, such assistance has resulted in the loss of tens and possibly hundreds of millions of dollars of public funds, through various schemes such as the failed "Darwin Trade Development Zone" (cost A$62.0 million) and an Islamic Abattoir (cost A$5.5 million). Despite such failures governments appear to believe that they can still "pick the winner" *and* attain multicultural goals through the development of a new high technology city, called the "Multi-function Polis." This project will involve substantial financial and planning input from the Japanese government and businesses. It will also involve some A$250 million in public spending for basic infrastructure.

- **Direct government spending.** The full extent of government multicultural funding is unknown. For example, detailed information is publicly released each year highlighting Federal Government spending on women and Aboriginal affairs. However, to date no detailed information has ever been provided about multicultural spending.[10]

Until 1991 there was a systematic attempt by governments to hide the full fiscal costs of multiculturalism by incorporating multicultural spending into larger mainstream programs. Thus, most multicultural programs are not identified separately in publicly available government budget papers. However, in 1991 it was claimed in the book *The Cost of Multiculturalism* that the fiscal cost of multiculturalism was approximately A$2.0 billion per year, with an additional A$300 million being allocated to pay for the direct costs of Australia's immigration program.[11]

Following publication of this book, a number of conflicting estimates of the fiscal cost of multiculturalism were made. First, a senior journalist with the government-funded multicultural media claimed that the cost was only A$93 million per year.[12] Second, an estimate of the fiscal cost of A$140 million was made by the Federal "Opposition Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs."[13] This was followed by an investigation by an Australian newspaper, which claimed that the cost was A$500 million per year.[14] With a growing public debate about the fiscal cost of this policy, the Federal government provided, for the first time, limited information about the fiscal cost of multiculturalism which was estimated to be A$300 million per year.[15] However, this estimate was inaccurate because it

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ignored various multicultural programs which are effectively hidden in larger "mainstream" programs as well as spending by State and local governments. It was this funding which places the estimated fiscal cost of multiculturalism at over A$2.0 billion per year.

While the Federal Opposition continues to support the policy of multiculturalism, it was conceded that there was a "need for the Government to present a detailed budget on expenditure for multicultural programs to ensure that monies are being allocated in a responsive and responsible way."[16]

Until accurate information about government spending on multiculturalism is made available by governments, an informed public debate and analysis of the costs and benefits of multiculturalism will not be possible. While the suppression of informed public debate about multiculturalism might be a key goal of a section of the Federal Government, it is not consistent with the principle of accountability which forms the basis of Australia's system of democratic government.

- **Lack of accountability.** While governments in Australia have traditionally implemented policy in an open and accountable manner, it is now beyond dispute that multicultural policy implementation is neither accountable nor open to the public. The existing mechanisms designed to ensure accountability have failed to provide accurate information about multicultural policy in practice.

Because of the extension of the policy of multiculturalism to most areas of government activity, a growing proportion of government administration is now beyond detailed analysis and scrutiny. It is unclear whether funding is directed to ethnic leaders, or to organizations that democratically represent entire and diverse ethnic populations. In addition, multiculturalism has had an important impact on Australia's immigration program. According to the Former Minister for Finance, Senator Peter Walsh, Australia's immigration program during the late 1980s was dramatically expanded — primarily because of pressure on the Federal Government by ethnic leaders. By the late 1980s, immigration had imposed massive economic costs on Australia. High levels of immigration increased annual population growth to over 1.5 per cent, the highest in the developed world. According to Mr. Stephen Joske, an economist with the Australian Parliamentary Library, immigration increased demand for basic infrastructure — such as housing, hospitals, roads, and schooling. Because of Australia's low levels of domestic savings, investment capital for such infrastructure had to be imported from overseas, adding up to A$8.0 billion each year to Australia's current account deficit.[17]

By the early 1990s, Australia — with a population of only 17 million — had accumulated a foreign debt of over A$140 billion, equal to 40 percent of GDP and exceeding other major "debtor" countries such as the former Soviet Union. A key cause of this debt "blowout" was the high and unsustainable levels of immigration during the late 1980s.

"... the growing ethnic diversity of society makes the quest for unifying ideals and common consensus all the more urgent during the 1990s."

There are other social and economic costs created by mismanagement of Australia's immigration program in the 1980s. For example, since the mid-1980s many health professionals have expressed concern about ineffective health screening of migrants for infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, hepatitis B and even leprosy. These concerns have consistently been ignored by the Federal Government, despite the fact that the additional social and economic costs to Australians of the introduction of infectious diseases could be substantial.

These concerns were again expressed in the book *The Cost of Multiculturalism*.[18] Specifically it was claimed that migrants were not always tested for some diseases such as hepatitis B and that even for diseases tested, such as AIDS and tuberculosis (TB), testing was often ineffective. This was shown by the fact that in 1990 over 70 per cent of cases of TB in Australia were migrants. In addition, leading Australian health experts such as Professor Clem Boughton claimed that, in the mid- to late-1980s, some 10 percent of Asian migrants arriving in Australia each year carried the hepatitis B virus. Not surprisingly, sections of the multicultural lobby

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attempted the usual "cover-up." The Office of Multicultural Affairs — in response to this claim — affirmed that all migrants were screened for infectious diseases.[19] However, the claim was finally confirmed as accurate in Federal Parliament by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Howe.[20]

- **Social cohesion.** The 1990s herald a new period in world history. As outlined by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., ethnic and racial conflict, rather than ideological conflict, is the most divisive and explosive issue of our times.[21] On every continent ethnicity is breaking up nations, causing civil wars and social tensions. This raises the question: how can multi-ethnic countries such as Australia respond to these changing circumstances?

Severe and deeply rooted economic difficulties currently facing Australia require all citizens to have a strong sense of nationality and shared common purpose. In addition, the growing ethnic diversity of society makes the quest for unifying ideals and common consensus all the more urgent during the 1990s. Multiculturalism does not attain such goals and only serves to divide countries into separate ethnic groups.

Countries which have implemented multi-cultural policies cannot afford to ignore the warning signs which suggest that multiculturalism only serves to increase ethnic and racial tensions. Multiculturalism also reduces international competitiveness vis-a-vis countries such as Japan, where one language is spoken in the workplace and businesses are highly adaptable and dynamic. Importantly, support for multiculturalism in other Western countries such as Canada has diminished significantly in recent months.

SUMMARY
ECONOMIC COSTS OF MULTICULTURALISM

This table provides a guide to the nature and extent of some of the direct costs of multiculturalism in Australia. Most of the potential indirect costs cannot be estimated accurately and must remain 'unknowns.' However, these costs are likely to be considerable.

FUNCTION/ACTIVITY	ESTIMATED COST 1991 (A$m)
1. Wasteful targeting of government goods and services	Unknown
2. Transaction/paper burden costs of multicultural regulations	Unknown
3. Reduced efficiency and productivity	
3.1 Government spending on English language training and additional welfare	4,800
3.2 Private sector spending on English language training	640
3.3 Higher costs and reduced international competitiveness	Unknown
4. Failed industry assistance	67
5. Direct government spending	2,000
6. Lack of accountability by multicultural programs	Unknown
6.1 Ineffective health screening during the 1980s	Unknown
7. Declining social cohesion	Unknown
TOTAL	7,507

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CONCLUSION

In Australia the policy of multiculturalism is more than just a description of ethnic diversity. It is a policy supported by substantial government spending and regulation of society, including the restriction of public debate. Over the last fifteen years there has been a systematic attempt by sections of the Federal and State Governments in Australia first to hide, then to distort, the real costs of multiculturalism.

While the precise magnitude of these costs is unknown they are quite clearly considerable, with direct costs likely to be on the order of A$7.5 billion, or 5 percent of GDP. [See box.]

In addition, there are indirect costs such as Australia's immigration program's being effectively controlled by the multicultural lobby. This led to a "blowout" in the current account deficit of A$6 - 8 billion per year during the late 1980s, which in turn led to a rapid increase in Australia's foreign debt. Moreover, there is a growing body of evidence which suggests that the policy of multiculturalism is a major cause of Australia's relative economic decline and reduced international competitiveness. Multiculturalism increases the costs of government through higher spending and poor targeting of service provision. Multiculturalism, by downgrading the importance of English language skills in immigrant selection, has increased costs for commerce and industry, resulting in lower productivity and competitiveness.

Throughout the world, ethnic and racial conflict, rather than ideology, has become the explosive issue of the 1990s. Governments around the world are responding by abandoning multicultural policies and highlighting common and popular core values which unify people of different ethnic backgrounds. ■

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We asked one of our European correspondents, Wolfgang Bosswick, for a report on the riots over asylum in the former East Germany (GDR). Mr. Bosswick is a candidate for a Ph.D. in sociology, and is working with the European Forum for Migration Studies.

The Riots in Germany

Reportage by Wolfgang Bosswick

Most of the riots occurred while I was on vacation in Poland. I had no news from Germany. We went into only one town to shop, so I didn't hear of the riots before I met my Polish friends in Krakow. They were very afraid of crossing into the former GDR (East German) territories on their trips to Germany because there had been some serious incidents during the last year (scarcely mentioned by the German press). The growing violence is not only directed against immigrants and asylum seekers, but also against tourists from Poland. In the last two years of the Communist regime there was a growing hostility toward Polish people crossing the border to the GDR to shop, and this mood seemed to be at least accepted by the former [East German] government. I had to get the information on the riots from old press releases after I returned, and I missed the live reports on TV from Rostock, Quendlinburg and Wismar.

I should explain some things to an American audience.

The term "right-wing extremist" is a bit misleading in this case. There are clearly racist and even fascist propagandists currently gaining support in growing circles of the mostly unemployed and frustrated east German youth. On several occasions, police raids uncovered weapons and Nazi-like propaganda materials during the last several months. Nevertheless, the majority of the rioting people seem not to be organized, and not even to have an ideological relation to these circles — they seemed to come mostly from the local, suburban neighborhoods. But, doubtless, there had been right-wing activists participating in the riots and their propaganda gave a background for these violent attacks. The rioters legitimate themselves by a postulated necessity for a "wake-up call," and the most frightening aspect of these riots is the broad applause given by the spectators from the neighborhood. As far as I can see, there are several reasons for the outbreak.

There is a deep and widespread frustration in the former East German population about the consequences of the reunification and their feeling of being completely ignored by the West German political elite. There are growing nostalgic sentiments and the feeling of their territory being almost 'occupied' by their counterparts from the wealthy, densely populated western part of Germany. The majority of employable people lost their formerly "safe" jobs, mainly because of the complete collapse of the eastern Europe market for industrial exports (which is related to currency unification), the unclear ownership of real property in the former GDR (which hinders new investments), and the loss of the local consumer product market to goods imported from west German enterprises. Many of the key positions in the political parties are taken by west German "import" politicians and very few are widely accepted. The western legal and administration system was implemented without regard to conflict over the ownership claims of West German citizens against their former properties confiscated by the Communist regime, and over the Abortion law (§218 Criminal Code).

"Crossing the former wall from Berlin-Mitte to Kreuzberg and Neukölln, with its nearly 40 percent Turkish population, must have been a very strange experience for East Germans..."

There is a mood of resistance and provocation against the political system and the administration — these produced violent attacks during the riots, not only against the foreigners, but against the police. The police force is often perceived both as the old "Volkspolizist," to which, of course, a lot of the staff had belonged, and as the representative of the new

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state, now dominated by the west Germans. This is certainly a psychological problem, and it should be taken as seriously as the economic turmoil.

Finally, there is an obvious hostility against foreigners nowadays, especially against the asylum seekers who have been a major source of controversy in the election campaigns for years. Compared to the situation in west German communities, the total number of asylum seekers in east Germany is quite low, but the coincidence of violence against asylum seekers in west Germany, the heavily discussed question of the asylum legislation, and the nearly complete absence of foreigners in the daily life of the former GDR, are all opening a valve for these incidents. There were guest-workers from Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam and Cuba during the last decades, but their numbers had been small compared to the labor migration into West Germany, and they had been strictly separated from the German population. The official "Internationale Sozialistische Völkerfreundschaft" (International Socialist Peoples' Friendship) propagated by the regime (although sometimes in sharp contrast to the real treatment of these guest-workers) adds one more facet to this complex situation. Crossing the former wall from Berlin-Mitte to Kreuzberg and Neukölln, with its nearly 40 percent Turkish population, must have been a very strange experience for East Germans at the time when it first became possible.

Many of the rioters are unemployed; most of them are very young (14 to 18 years old). Part of the problem also seems to be that many of them, formerly involved in the GDR youth organizations with their sophisticated programs, now regard themselves as abandoned by the state. There is no immediate competition between the East German natives and the asylum seekers on the job market, but in matters of social services and the housing market, they certainly are perceived as a massive burden. Conflicts similar to those in west Germany between the second generation of labor immigrants, the lower class natives, and the recently arrived ethnic Germans from the East — related to competition in the labor market — are unlikely in East Germany.

The Vietnamese guest workers had been employed in some segments of industry in the former GDR. There was a treaty with the Peoples' Republic of Vietnam defining the terms of this labor migration. The presence of the workers was limited to five years, women becoming pregnant had to abort or leave the country immediately, and the wages were only partially paid to the workers. Sending goods to Vietnam and the exportation of goods on the way back was very restricted. The guest-workers lived in separate housing areas, worked in separate departments, and contacts with the local population were, although not forbidden, sharply restrained by the authorities and the secret police, STASI.

"In the case of the riots in former East Germany, I think that the government, but also the other parties, have failed to address the problem in an appropriate way."

The Rumanian Gypsies are asylum seekers and most of them enter via Poland. A Polish friend of mine in Krakow told about her visit to her parents in Przemysl (located in southeast Poland, just at the Ukrainian border). There, hundreds are living on the streets under very bad conditions, crowding the main station, parks and the downtown section of the city. There are reliable reports of frequent pogroms against the Gypsies in Rumania (often supported by local authorities), but there also seems to be a well-organized smuggling network marketing the migration option to the Rumanian Gypsies. Many of them try to proceed to Germany and to apply for asylum. In late September, the German government signed a treaty with the Rumanian government in which Rumania agrees to receive deported Rumanians from Germany, even if they don't have any identification documents.

Whether the chanted slogans of the rioters can be defined as "Neo-Nazi" is as problematic as the term itself. Many of them are coming from the right-wing background mentioned above; some of them clearly do have a racist attitude. Obviously these riots are not mild civil protests against the dispersal of asylum seekers to the local neighborhoods, but violent attacks — verbal and physical. Some incidents, such as the riots in Rostock and in Quendlinburg, gave the impression that the intervention of the police had been at least half-hearted. Several attacks with fatal results during the

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last two years have been clearly racially motivated, and directed against people with African or Asian ancestry.

In the case of the riots in former East Germany, I think that the government, but also the other parties, have failed to address the problem in an appropriate way. They should have refrained from deploying contingents of asylum seekers in east German communities in the same concentration as in the west German communities, without an appropriate political and organizational preparation. The focus on asylum seekers in public debate during several election campaigns promoted by the CDU and CSU political parties, while ignoring the large scale migration from east to west Germany and the immigration from eastern Europe with all its social consequences, has resulted in a paralysis of reasonable measures and the lack of an immigration policy. This is contributing to that situation.

My main concern is — as John Tanton points out in his *Social Contract* editorial — that more and more people will draw the conclusion from these incidents that violence works. Nevertheless, I think that it is problematic to compare the Los Angeles riots with the German ones; in the unique background of German reunification, there are probably more differences than similarities.

I am seriously concerned about these events, although I think there is a real chance to overcome them and to find reasonable solutions. ■

For Example: Healthcare and Immigration

Healthcare is expected to be the largest single sector of most OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) economies by 2000. Nurses will constitute perhaps 5 percent of industrial country workforces. They are already in short supply, and industrial countries are attempting to fill the gap by bringing in immigrant trained nurses. In the United States, shortages are most severe in the inner-city neighborhoods that have high levels of unemployment. If industrial countries continue to try to solve the nursing shortage with immigrants, rather than by training local workers and keeping current nurses in the profession, they will be planting the seeds of another wave of migrant workers.

— Philip L. Martin in "International Migration: A New Challenge"
in *International Economic Insights*, March/April 1992.

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The concept of 'carrying capacity' resurfaces periodically as a tool for conceptualizing mankind's situation, and helping to plan a course of action. Washington editor Roy Beck reports on the National Carrying Capacity Issues Conference.

Issues of Carrying Capacity

Reportage by Roy Beck

What might it take finally to *reconnect* the environmental movement to the campaign for U.S. population stabilization, formerly one of the movement's most important goals?

A conference at Georgetown University last summer provided a fascinating model for what could happen. It engendered tensions, but also hope. By focusing environmentalists on the concepts of "carrying capacity" and "sustainable economy" for the United States, frank talk about U.S. population growth *and* immigration policy emerged. And a remarkable result it was to have environmentalists talking about either issue! Since the late '70s, American environmental groups have neglected and sometimes totally ignored the multiplying effect of population growth on domestic environmental problems. The nadir came in 1990, when all but one environmental group ignored legislation that spurred major additional population growth.

"Carrying capacity is the most important issue of our time," Brock Evans, Washington lobbyist for the Audubon Society, told some 200 environmental professionals, activists, academics and interested citizens at the National Carrying Capacity Issues Conference. Because of the United States' size (50 million more people than in 1970) and per capita consumption, "we are destroying forests faster than Brazil," he said. "I hope the future will be a little more benign. My job is to hold the door open and preserve every little bit I can." Evans told how when he ran for Congress from Seattle in 1984 he had to defend his stands on immigration and family planning because critics didn't understand carrying capacity principles.

Former U.S. Sen. Gaylord Nelson, now of the Wilderness Society, said in his keynote address that the *dis*connection between environmentalists and population stabilization has occurred primarily "due to lack of attention to the concept of carrying capacity."

The definition of "carrying capacity" — according to the conference sponsor, Carrying Capacity Network — is "the number of individuals who can be supported without degrading the natural, cultural and social environment, i.e., without reducing the ability of the environment to sustain the desired quality of life over the long term."

Nelson criticized Congress and President Bush for failing even to mention population questions when they approved 1990 immigration legislation that will increase U.S. population by millions over the next decade. "From July of 1989 to October of 1990, there were thousands of words of debate in the Congressional Record. Yet, in scanning, I found only one brief reference to carrying capacity."

But then why would Congress talk about an issue the environmental community scarcely raised? Only one conservation group in the entire nation spoke up for the environment and tried to get Congress to consider the carrying capacity implications of the immigration bill. And that group — Population-Environment Balance — also was the only one to oppose the population-growth legislation. (The Federation for American Immigration Reform, with a number of environmentalists in its leadership, also was a vocal opponent.)

Former U.S. Rep. Claudine Schneider, now of the environmentally oriented Artemis Project, told the conference that despite her strong conservation credentials during 10 years in the House, it was only in 1990 that she began really to grasp the connection between immigration and environment.

"Immigration clearly is an area that needs to be looked at," Schneider said, noting that changing the 1990 immigration law would enable the country to move toward quality rather than quantity. "It shocked me (during debate of the 1990 bill) that nobody in a decision-making capacity was willing to talk about population issues."

Rose Hanes, executive director of Population-Environment Balance, said, "We believe population growth is the ultimate environmental threat. I'm

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always surprised to find any disagreement. We believe the U.S. is the most overpopulated in the world."

And the majority of U.S. growth since 1970 has been due to immigration, according to a study done for *The Social Contract* by demographer Leon Bouvier, who also was on the program.[1]

Frank Morris, dean of graduate research at Morgan State University, emphasized that a person or group cannot deal responsibly with population, environment or immigration without dealing with all of them. "You can't do it in isolation."

Not everybody at the conference was ready for such integration of issues. Several of the speakers and workshop leaders restricted their comments to more narrowly defined topics related to carrying capacity. Some told me privately that they had not previously been forced to think about all the issues together. While they did not object to the conclusions of people like Nelson, they were still mulling them over and not yet ready to espouse such views themselves.

"...the rare public official...who challenges massive immigration is the person showing real concern for poor Americans while the pro-immigration advocates push for policies that actually aid rich Americans."

The same feelings could be found among a number of participants who suddenly found their environmentalism challenged with new, uncomfortable issues.

For others, the drumbeat of immigration comments from speakers was too jarring. One participant took the floor microphone and complained, "I'd like to see this conference not restrict itself to restrictive immigration laws." It was seen as ironic, if not hypocritical, that Audubon's Evans had used the image of the open door concerning saving natural resources while he and others indicated the need to close the door on immigration.

For some in attendance, the only proper answer is to reduce American consumption and standard of living to make room for those around the world who would like to move here. Writer Elizabeth Sobo found talk of immigration restriction and population stabilization to be mean-spirited and driven by ethnic and religious bigotry. In an article in the National Catholic Register entitled "And the poor shall inherit a kick in the head," Sobo described the conference as an effort to protect the lifestyles of wealthy Anglo-Saxons. Her sense of the immorality of population stabilization efforts was colorfully expressed in closing lines about U.S. Rep. Tony Beilenson. The Beverly Hills Democrat had co-sponsored legislation that would withdraw automatic citizenship to babies born of illegal aliens. Sobo wrote:

> *Beilenson is a man who understands 'overpopulation.' He comes from a district in which two, three, or even four people are sometimes crowded into one 20-room mansion. He's seen what happens when half a dozen people are forced to share a single swimming pool, and undoubtedly he knows others who have no tennis court at all. And surely the good people of Beverly Hills who helped elect Beilenson will sleep better in the future knowing that a shiftless bunch of Mexican babies in Texas can no longer get free milk from the WIC program.*

Although the National Catholic Register article did not exhibit much interest in environmental concerns, it showed clearly why many environmentalists have been loath to deal with population and carrying capacity issues: fear of having environmental efforts associated with issues tarred with charges of ethnic and racial insensitivity, callousness toward poor people, and other accusations of social immorality.

But several speakers made their case that environmentalists are racially insensitive if they *refuse* to deal with population and immigration issues. They contended that the rare elected official like Rep. Beilenson who challenges massive immigration is the person showing real concern for poor Americans while the pro-immigration advocates push for policies that actually aid rich Americans.

Beilenson said in a conference workshop that talk of stopping illegal immigration in Southern California was almost entirely a racist kind of issue several years ago. And it still can be. "But that shouldn't chase away decent people. It makes it even

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more necessary for really good people to get involved so it isn't left just to the racists." As a liberal Democrat, he said, he has spoken against illegal immigration for eight or nine years because of its impact on population and environment. In the last two years, he said, there has been a dramatic change in discussion of illegal immigration because masses of citizens have begun to make the connection between it and quality of life — on the freeways and beaches, in jobs and, most importantly, in public services.

Immigration policies designed to bring a million or more new entrants a year, legal and illegal, are exceeding not only the environmental but the cultural and social carrying capacity of the nation, particularly in regard to lower-skilled Americans, several speakers said.

"Higher-income Americans are benefitting temporarily from the low-wage labor market's being in chaos," said labor economist Vernon Briggs of Cornell University. That chaos — which includes declining wages for 70 percent of Americans — is caused by profound structural changes in the economy and by two decades of unending massive immigration, Briggs said. "One group in the United States — blacks — clearly are having an awful time making the transition. We're at a break point on race issues. The No. 1 labor force issue is the status of black labor. The test of every labor action must be that it does no harm to the status of black Americans."

This gives environmentalists — who long have suffered under pejorative images of being white elitists — a unique opportunity to embrace a course of action beneficial equally to the quality of the natural environment and to economic conditions for blacks.

Prof. Morris, former executive of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, appealed to environmentalists to assist African-Americans, especially when it is mutually beneficial. One key way is by working to restrict immigration and, thus, to stabilize the population. Morris addressed the 1990 immigration law with its dire consequences for the environment. He said it also contained harsh consequences for blacks: "A major factor behind that law was that it came after a report showed a tight labor market would force companies to hire and train more blacks." Congress immediately moved to loosen the labor market with more foreign workers. "The unconscious motive of immigration law always has been to reduce the ratio of blacks." One in five Americans was black in 1776, compared to one in eight at present. "New immigrants are in direct competition with African-Americans. They displace jobs and wages."

Referring to the outbreak of riots in Los Angeles, Morris said: "If all Americans were paying the price for immigration that African-Americans are, there would be a lot more attention to the issue and a lot more violence against immigrants."

"It's very silly to take more people into a nation as long as we don't take care of those here," said famed environmental author Garrett Hardin. "I think we're insane to take in any immigrants at all."

Herman Daly, World Bank economist and father of steady-state economics, added: "As long as there is an unlimited supply of unskilled labor, it is hard to raise income and the standard of living." Allowing more overpopulation in the United States shows an irresponsibility toward the rest of the world, he said. "If the U.S. had worried about its own carrying capacity, it wouldn't have developed to where we depend so much on depleting the carrying capacity of other nations."

The reason so many nations have been able to exceed their carrying capacity is that they are "drawing down their resource stocks," Daly said. And that violates the most sacred tenet of capitalism: that you do not consume capital to pay operating costs, he added. Sir John Hicks, the Nobel economist, defined income in carrying capacity terms. Daly noted: "Income is what you can take without cutting the ability to earn the same income the next period and the periods after that."

Nelson advised the conference that it is good and right to concentrate on one's own nation and its carrying capacity: "While we have a responsibility to provide vigorous international leadership, there are important, unfinished environment challenges here at home ... Sovereign nations are no different from corporations. No corporation that used up its capital survived bankruptcy." Population growth is the No. 1 environmental problem, he said. And it is also a social problem: "Does anybody believe New York, Chicago and Miami are better than when they were half the size, or will be better when doubled?" He castigated the news media, nearly all of which he

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said supported expanding immigration while paying no attention "to this central issue of our time — resource depletion."

A long list of speakers detailed the depletion in a number of categories. For example, the United States loses 1.5 million acres of top soil a year, according to James Riggle of American Farmland Trust. "The reason so many environmentalists came was to deal with questions about our limits," said David Durham, president of Carrying Capacity Network. "What population-size in the Southwest will water sustain? The overarching purpose of the conference was the show the interrelationships among all the resource issues and population size. There is a value question here, too. It is not just how many people you can pack into an area, but whether you want wilderness and other qualities of life for the people there." Although the conference sponsors strongly support recycling, reduced energy use, and lower consumption of other resources, they do not advocate that Americans should forever reduce their quality of living simply to make room for as many people as possible.

The sight of so many figures prominent in the environmental movement talking easily, knowledgeably and forcefully about population and immigration at the June 19-21 conference lent a sense of comfort about the issues that some participants had not previously experienced. And the carrying capacity framework of the discussions was one that nobody contested.

Clearly, having Nelson — the father of the first Earth Day 1970 — embrace the need for population stabilization and immigration restriction was a reminder that population and environment were inextricably intertwined in the movement not so very long ago. ■

[1] Leon Bouvier's study of the contribution of immigration to population growth is presented in the article, "Immigration: No. 1 in U.S. Growth" by Roy Beck and can be found in the Winter 1991-92 issue of *The Social Contract*, Volume II, Number 2, page 106.

[Audio tapes of the conference speeches and workshops can be purchased from Carrying Capacity Network. The order sheet is available by calling 1-800-466-4866 or by writing to Suite 1003, 1325 "G" Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005-3104.]

Say "Yes" to Official Language

...it takes nerve to look a minority member in the eye and tell him that at a given point his language and his community must yield to the official language and the national community. And yet it must be done constantly, because the natural pressures inherent in such a relationship will rapidly destabilize it unless the majority can continue to set the moral agenda. Sometime this century, English Canada lost its nerve.

Perhaps this was not surprising. Even American politicians since World War II have begun to compromise the traditional U.S. policy of assimilation, and have permitted Hispanic immigrants to vote without speaking English, and allowed a measure of bilingualism in the public schools...

— From *The Patriot Game: National Dreams and Political Realities*
By Peter Brimelow (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1986)

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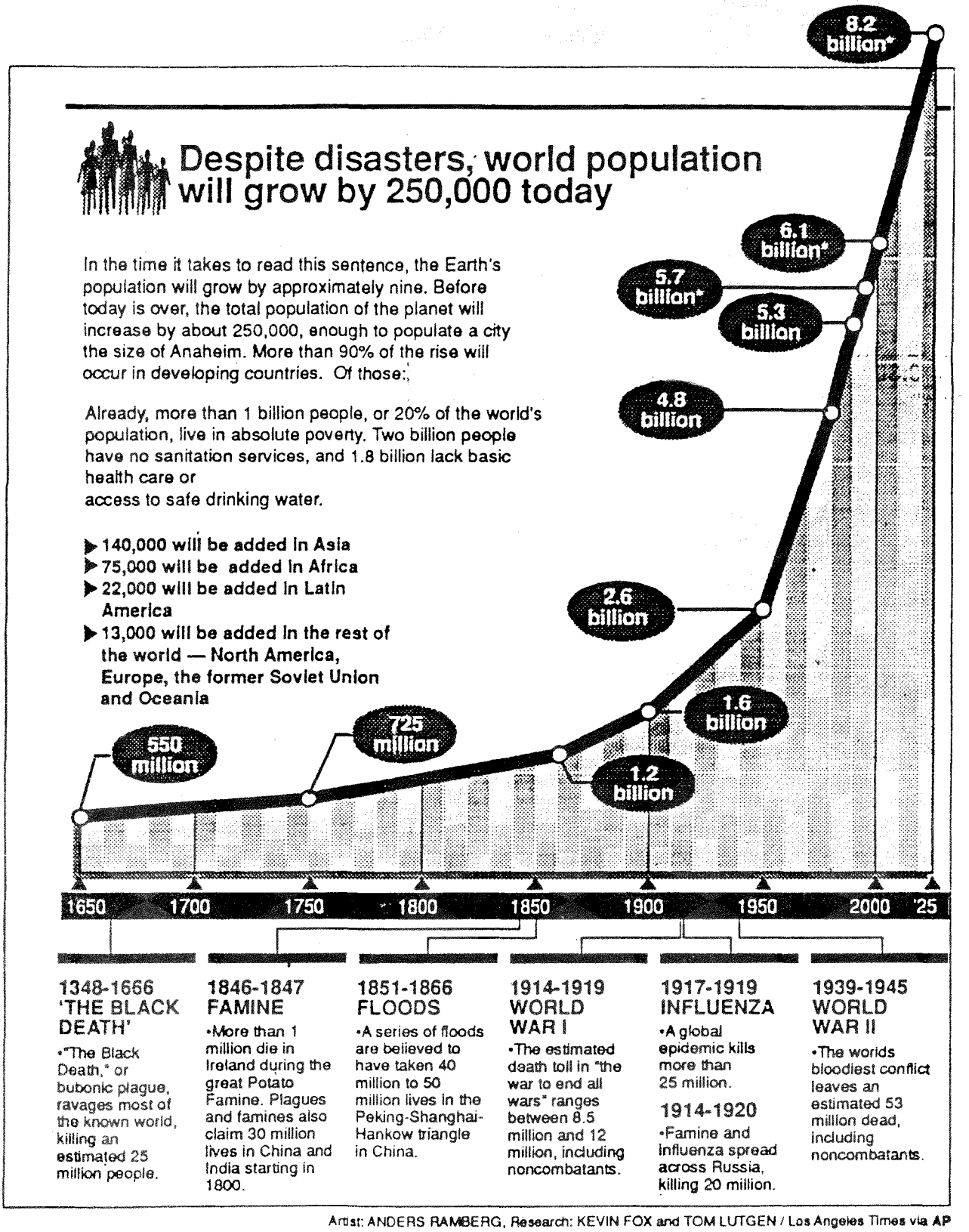
Despite disasters, world population will grow by 250,000 today
In the time it takes to read this sentence, the Earth's population will grow by approximately nine. Before today is over, the total population of the planet will increase by about 250,000, enough to populate a city the size of Anaheim. More than 90% of the rise will occur in developing countries. Of those:
Already, more than 1 billion people, or 20% of the world's population, live in absolute poverty. Two billion people have no sanitation services, and 1.8 billion lack basic health care or access to safe drinking water.
▶ 140,000 will be added in Asia
▶ 75,000 will be added in Africa
▶ 22,000 will be added in Latin America
▶ 13,000 will be added in the rest of the world — North America, Europe, the former Soviet Union and Oceania
8.2 billion*
6.1 billion*
5.7 billion*
5.3 billion
4.8 billion
2.6 billion
1.6 billion
1.2 billion
725 million
550 million
1650
1700
1750
1800
1850
1900
1950
2000
'25
1348-1666 'THE BLACK DEATH'
•"The Black Death," or bubonic plague, ravages most of the known world, killing an estimated 25 million people.
1846-1847 FAMINE
•More than 1 million die in Ireland during the great Potato Famine. Plagues and famines also claim 30 million lives in China and India starting in 1800.
1851-1866 FLOODS
•A series of floods are believed to have taken 40 million to 50 million lives in the Peking-Shanghai-Hankow triangle in China.
1914-1919 WORLD WAR I
•The estimated death toll in "the war to end all wars" ranges between 8.5 million and 12 million, including noncombatants.
1917-1919 INFLUENZA
•A global epidemic kills more than 25 million.
1914-1920
•Famine and influenza spread across Russia, killing 20 million.
1939-1945 WORLD WAR II
•The worlds bloodiest conflict leaves an estimated 53 million dead, including noncombatants.

Artist: ANDERS RAMBERG, Research: KEVIN FOX and TOM LUTGEN / Los Angeles Times via AP

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Viktor Foerster, an attorney in Germany and a member of The Social Contract *editorial board, presents a view of the additional complexity of controlling immigration in general and refugees / asylees in particular when there is no overarching set of laws commonly agreed upon.*

The Right of Asylum in Europe

By Viktor Foerster

The political and social significance of the right of asylum in the European Economic Community and in its Member States has increased steadily over the past ten years.

And, in view of the fact that Member States have been unable individually to respond adequately to the challenge posed by the influx of asylum seekers, and because of the coalescing of the Community into a single market, this issue has increasingly become a matter of common interest. Moreover, the removal of controls at internal frontiers on January 1, 1993 makes it particularly important that there should be a uniform right of asylum throughout the Community.

There are two fundamentally different concepts of migration we must distinguish here:

- Firstly, there is "immigration" which is primarily an economic phenomenon. Immigration is, in the first place, determined by the relative economic situation extant in the country of immigration and in the country of origin. Of course, a component of such migration is also the question of family reunions and regroupings. Immigration is subject to the *discretion* of each Member State and depends on numerous economic and other factors — each Member State decides whether or not immigrants may be admitted.
- In sharp contrast, the right of asylum is a question of a legal right as defined by the Geneva Convention. All Member States are signatories to that Convention and recognize it as a fundamental common legal instrument in determining the situation vis-a-vis asylum seekers and refugees. In ratifying the Geneva Convention, the Member States entered into basic humanitarian commitments affording protection to individuals who fear persecution in their own country for political, ethnic, or religious reasons.

"Political refugees" are subject to the individual national laws of the Member State. At present there is no unified European Community law in this area. However, it is important to know that no discretion is permitted in the admission of asylum seekers. In any event, economic considerations are not taken into account in determining whether or not an individual is to be recognized as an asylum seeker. The basis for any such decision is the Geneva Convention. (Indeed, the definition applied in determining the status of "asylum seekers" in Germany is actually much broader than that laid down in the Geneva Convention.)

"A relatively large and growing number of asylum seekers have ... had recourse to the asylum procedure even though they do not satisfy the definition of political refugees..."

There is also a third category to be considered in this question: that is the group of "de facto" refugees. De facto refugees are those persons who flee their respective countries not in order to escape political persecution, but rather because their individual life or safety is threatened by such conditions as civil war or political unrest.

The Geneva Convention should remain the basis for determining asylum status. But, at the same time, there is a need to prevent any abuse of the rights of asylum. A relatively large and growing number of asylum seekers have in the past had recourse to the asylum procedure even though they do not satisfy the definition of political refugees as laid down in the Geneva Convention. This constitutes an abuse of the

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asylum procedure aimed at circumventing the restrictions on immigration for employment purposes. Such abuses, particularly in the case of manifestly unfounded applications, or in the case of applications from "safe" countries, must be stopped through the introduction of common procedures among the Member States. These procedures should encompass such matters as the adoption of speedy deportation procedures for rejected applicants and for the consideration of certain "safe country" applications to take place at the external frontier.

"The [Dublin] Convention is designed to prevent asylum seekers from becoming 'refugees in orbit' and from lodging multiple applications..."

There have also been moves to prevent so-called "asylum tourism" and harmonize the formal right of asylum in the Community. The Dublin Convention was drafted to determine which State is responsible for examining an application for asylum lodged in one of the Member States. The Convention is designed, among other things, to prevent asylum seekers from becoming "refugees in orbit" and from lodging multiple applications within the frontier-free area. The final aim [of the Dublin Convention] is to achieve harmonization of the laws concerning applications for asylum, the treatment afforded, and the substantive law throughout the frontier-free area of the Community.

The decision by a Member State to vet an application must be recognized in accordance with the Dublin Convention by all the other Member States. The opportunity to submit multiple applications in different Member States should not exist.

At the same time, the Luxembourg European Council has drawn a distinction between measures for the formal and substantive harmonization of the right to asylum among the Member States in the longer term, and the practical preparatory and transitional measures needed to cover the more immediate future before permanent measures can be adopted.

Apart from immediate ratification of the Dublin Convention with a view to its entry into force,* the measures which could be given joint consideration at this stage in order to respond to the influx of asylum seekers could be summarized as follows:

a) Administrative and court procedures should be speeded up so that decisions can be taken more rapidly and the number of pending applications can be reduced. In this regard, procedures could be dramatically abridged in cases where there are manifestly unfounded applications. But of course, the individual right of the asylum seeker must always be safeguarded.

b) Harmonization of the rules on refusal of admission at external borders in terms of such matters as the meaning of "first host country" and the definition of "safe country."

c) Asylum seekers whose applications are turned down should be deported unless they can be allowed to stay under some other arrangement.

d) A procedure should be established for consultation and the exchange of information in connection with the right of asylum — particularly as regards the situation in the countries of origin and relevant legislation.

Thus, as a general matter, it can be seen that the measures to prevent abuse of the right of asylum are at the same time linked to the wider problem of the need to control economic migration into the area of the European Community. In the longer term, there must also be a harmonization of the formal and substantive right of migration among all of the Member States of the Community. All of these steps must be taken in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees using the Geneva Convention as the legal foundation for determining such matters. ■

[* At their meeting on June 13, 1991, ministers of the EC countries recommended the ratification of the Dublin Convention with a view to its taking effect no later than January 1, 1993.]

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Mark O'Connor has given us permission to publish his letter to the head of the [Australian] National Population Council (NPC), a government-supported study group. Mark, a poet and a member of Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population (AESP), attended the NPC seminar that stimulated this thoughtful letter.

When Is a Country Overpopulated?

By Mark O'Connor

Professor Glenn Withers, Chair
National Population Council

Dear Professor Withers,

I was impressed by the level of debate at the recent NPC seminar in Canberra.

There seemed to be a heartening awareness that indefinite exponential growth of Australia's population could not be recommended. Granted that there is still an obvious and powerful momentum for growth of our population, it seems most important to work out what are actually the limiting constraints — those which set some kind of identifiable ceiling that both the public and politicians might recognize and respect. One suggestion that emerged at the seminar was that environment might be the limiting factor; and both you and Phillip Toyne suggested that more precise data should be found to link population growth with environmental impact.

As the representative of one of the few conservation organizations to be specifically represented at that particular seminar, I would like to suggest some answers.

I believe the draft Report has correctly identified the four possible areas of constraint on population growth, viz. 1. Environment, 2. Economy, 3. Social Justice, and 4. Global/Humanitarian concerns.

I suggest that there are in fact three possible types or degrees of constraint, as follows:

1. **A general principle of caution which we might call "The Herpes Principle" or "The Prudence Principle,"** this is: while there are practicable ways for a nation to increase its population, there are no practicable short or medium term ways to reduce it markedly. Like herpes, overpopulation is not necessarily unbearable, but there is no known cure for it. Hence, unless one is very very sure that one doesn't mind the condition (and its possible further consequences), one should try to avoid it. Pro-natalist governmental policies might, in a different metaphor, be seen as like jumping into a smooth-sided pit. Granted that the majority of the world's nations seem to have, to more or less degree, tumbled into just such a pit, we should be skeptical of the argument that Australia is a special case and can jump in with impunity. Most of those other nations thought they were special cases too.

It should be noted that the "Herpes or Prudence Principle" does not set an absolute ceiling for population growth. However, it does at the very least suggest that any government policies which tend to produce marked population growth, unless they produce quite undeniably valuable or indispensable effects, should be wound down as quickly as practicable.

2. **Constraints that imply an absolute ceiling.** The Prime Minister's remark that it would be best for Australia's growth to level off at 25 million seems to imply a belief in some such ceiling, but gives no specific rationale for it. Tom Havas's research suggested the same figure of 25 million as a safe lower ceiling for Australia, and suggested that water resources might be the critical factor.

I will argue below that environmental (as opposed to resource) constraints set a much lower figure for Australia's desirable future population. Clearly, where absolute ceilings are concerned, the critical one is the lowest.

3. **Proportional Constraints.** These are ones expressed by equation or quasi-equations of the general form: *"The more people, the less of [something desirable]"* or *"The more people, the more of [something undesirable]."* There can also be multi-stage propositions of this sort, e.g. *"Assuming the present standard of affluence, 1. more people in Australia tends to mean 2. more imports, which means 3. more pressure to create exports, which means 4(a) more pressure to allow rapid draw-down or sell-off of mineral resources, or 4(b) more*

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pressure to crop marginal and erodable lands or to invade National Parks." Such proportional constraints can have considerable force.

Most of the constraints derived from economic, social justice, and global/humanitarian considerations are of this proportional sort. (Some of course may be countered by contrary proportional arguments.)

COMBINING THE TYPES OF CONSTRAINT

A logician might argue that the second type of constraint, the absolute-ceiling type, is the critical one — especially if it sets a figure very close to the present population size.

"...while you can legitimately be an optimist or a pessimist about the future, you cannot be optimistic or pessimistic about what is demonstrably happening now."

In practice, granted the momentum our society has built up towards rapid population growth, and the need of democratic governments to appeal to as many sections of society as possible, both politicians, and even the framers of a report such as the NPC's, will need to appeal to all three types of argument.

In this light, let us look again at the three types:

1. **The first constraint (the "Herpes" or "Prudence Principle")** would of itself be sufficient reason to abandon pro-natalist and high-net-immigration policies. It is an argument that most people can readily grasp, though it does require some public education to combat the widespread myths that Australia is a special case or "an empty/underpopulated country."

2. **Absolute Ceilings: Does environmental damage set an absolute ceiling that is close to the present population size?** As the NPC's draft report suggests, it is difficult to predict the extent to which future technology will mitigate population-generated environmental problems. The draft Report suggests that a major problem is to resolve the conflict between "optimists" and "pessimists" on this issue. I would accept that distinction, but point out that we simply do not know how technology will develop, and so should probably plan conservatively (cf. the Prudence Principle above).

However, there is a very important point of basic philosophy: while you can legitimately be an optimist or a pessimist about the future, you cannot be optimistic or pessimistic about what is demonstrably happening *now*. Once the ship is already on the rocks, it is no use arguing that future improvements in steering gear will remove the problem.

If the environmental limit is already being breached, then there is not much point in arguing that future improvements in technology or in people's attitudes would have made possible a larger population.

Yet the argument that we are already "over-populated" on environmental grounds is obvious. To quote ASEP's earlier submission by Dr. Chris Watson:

> *Australia, as custodian of many thousands of unique species of plants and animals, and of their habitats and bio-regions, has an international duty to keep its human population below limits that will seriously damage these regions. Such limits will change from time to time, depending on public attitudes and technological possibilities. At present these limits are clearly being exceeded, and unacceptable damage is occurring. Australia is already one of the world's most ruthlessly cleared countries. Salination, deforestation, erosion, loss of habitats and extinction of species are all currently out of control.*

The argument for an absolute environmental constraint is thus a readily-grasped three-stage one: If (1) unacceptable damage is being done now, and (2) there is no serious doubt that population increases likely over the next few years will increase that damage, then (3) those population increases should be avoided.

2(b). **Can the enviromental effects of population growth be precisely calculated?** AESP is therefore a little concerned about your belief that the environmental effects of future population growth must be precisely calculated, or a rigorous equation found for them. The equation is in fact known. It is I = PAT. As this equation shows, the notion of precise measurement is a red herring or a fallacy.

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You cannot put a precise figure on the amount of environmental damage (I) caused by each extra person (P), because it will depend on future levels of affluence (A), and of technological "invasiveness" (T). This emphatically does *not* mean that the connection between more people and environmental impact is "unproven" or "inconclusive."

The point is that we do know the *direction* in which population-size needs to go in order to reduce environmental impact. I = PAT cannot give us a precise future per capita value for Impact divided by Population, but it leaves no doubt that $I \propto P$ — that is, environmental impact varies *directly* with population-size.

What you can offer therefore is a calculation of what each citizen currently demands (per lifetime) from Australia's resources, environment, petrol supplies, garbage disposal, job creation, electricity generation, and imports. It comes to an impressive heap, as Professor R.V. Short has pointed out.

"Our present technology is one that involves heavy material demands on the environment; and it is difficult to see this changing radically for some decades at least."

However, if *future* measurements are demanded, there may still be a solution to your problem. As my poet friend, Les Murray, has remarked, although none of our projections curve where the future curves, we see in practice "a small living distance into it."

To give a practical example: If you are trying to predict the per capita cost in fuel (or in greenhouse emissions) required for urban commuting in a future Australia whose population is twice the size of the present one, there are all sorts of uncertainties. New technologies may have been introduced, public transport may have become more attractive (or even compulsory!). One just can't tell.

(A mathematician would note that Les Murray's remark is similar to Isaac Newton's observation that underlies differential calculus: that $\delta y/\delta x \rightarrow dy/dx$ as $\delta x \rightarrow 0$).

One should note that the "small living distance" we can reliably see into the future is usually shorter for assumptions about technology pure and simple than for assumptions about future technology plus future changes in social attitudes — or in human nature. It is perfectly true that if Australians could turn into environmental angels, then this continent could probably sustain a very much larger population with no more environmental damage than is being done at present. Yet, apart from extreme optimists of the Lubya Zarsky sort, few would anticipate such a scenario.

Even the speed of technological change should not be exaggerated. Its implementation often involves overcoming social, economic and political constraints. Our present technology is one that involves heavy material demands on the environment; and it is difficult to see this changing radically for some decades at least.

One also needs to avoid the error of thinking that improved public attitudes mean that the destruction ceases. As in the case of old-growth forests, we may indeed care more and more about the less and less that remains to preserve; yet the destruction continues. Similarly, the fact that we are actually destroying fewer acres per year every year, doesn't mean that things are improving for the rainforest — or that the rate of species extinction has dropped. When your car runs off the road and onto the verge it is probably at the time decelerating quite healthily, but that's not much consolation if it wraps around a lamp-post.

3. Proportional Constraints: How strong are the constraints derived from Economics, Social Justice, and Global / Humanitarian Concerns?

(a) Economics

The most obvious proportional constraint involves the import / export balance. Under present political and economic circumstances it is not possible to prevent a population of Australia's affluence from buying numerous and expensive imported goods. These have to be balanced with exports. Our most characteristic exports are foods, fibers, and minerals. All of these need to be produced in a highly mechanized way to be competitive on the world market, and it is difficult to believe that a larger population / laborforce in the country would enable them to be produced more economically — though it might certainly increase the pressure to produce them more recklessly, or in

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the case of mineral deposits to sell them off more rapidly.

Hence, a higher population, assuming (as government would probably wish to) the present level of affluence, implies lower per capita export productivity, and problems with import/export balance.

An additional issue is the amount of potential export product that is consumed within Australia. Food is a good example. According to Henry Nix, Australia at present produces, in calorie terms, foods sufficient for about twice its present population. Yet this is the world's oldest, driest, flattest, most ruthlessly cleared, most salinated and least fertile continent; and there is no guarantee that future production of our main crops can be greatly increased or even sustained. Clearly a doubled population that consumed these food resources within Australia might be unable to use agricultural exports to pay for the imports it desired, or even to pay for the fuel, fertilizers and pesticides it currently imports to produce the food. (The economic prospect is actually even worse than this calculation suggests, since Australia's food exports tend to be bulk foods like wheat, which attract a lower price per calorie, than, say, the imported foods one finds in a delicatessen).

A second proportional economic constraint, this time one that applies rather to *rate* of population growth than to absolute size, is that at present huge amounts of public money have to be diverted into infrastructure and services, including housing and new suburbs, for a fast-expanding population. At the same time, investment funds are increasingly diverted into various forms of the real estate speculation industry which now absorb most of the banks' and insurance companies' investment capability. This means less capital for the modernizing of factories and plants. This again implies lower export productivity per worker, and lack of competitiveness on the world market.

Further, the diversion of investment into service industries and basic infrastructure means that technological advances are more likely to be made in such areas than in those more suitable for export.

Against this, of course, many economists see some advantages from "economies of scale" — but that's a long and vexed argument.

(b) **Social Justice**

Firstly, Don Edgar from Institute of Family Studies and others have pointed out that the diversion of money into rapidly expanding suburbs, which are often sited (as on the outskirts of Sydney) in expensive and unsuitable terrain, means a dangerous running down of infrastructure in older areas. E.g., most older Australian cities now have crumbling sewer systems which they can neither afford to ignore nor to replace.

Secondly, Llewellyn Jones and others have pointed out statistics that show (both in the U.S. and in Australia) striking correlations of city-size with violence and with the per capita crime-rate.

"The fate of several South American countries suggests that inequality (leading even to dictatorship and death squads) can rapidly set in once a sizeable middle class recognizes that it is quite impossible to extend their standard of living to all members of an ever-increasing population."

Thirdly, several futuristic writers have predicted increasing breakdown of equality, social justice, and ultimately of democracy under stresses largely caused by an expanding population. Many of these stresses were already visible in Thatcher's Britain, or in the behavior of disaffected unemployed youth in Australia's present cities — left out of work largely because of our factories being undercaptialized and non-competitive on the world market. While population growth of itself certainly does not lead inevitably to the scenarios envisaged for Melbourne in the middle of next century by George Turner in his novels *Drowning Towers* and *The Sea and Summer*, it is certainly one necessary precondition.

Fourthly, Australia's egalitarian culture has depended in part on the assumption that there was enough to go around for any one who was prepared to do their share of the work. The fate of several South American countries suggests that inequality (leading even to dictatorship and death squads) can rapidly set in once a sizable middle class recognizes that it is quite impossible to extend their standard of living to all members of an ever-increasing populace.

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Fifthly, it is at the least suggestive that those countries which have risen rapidly in their relative positions on the World (per capita) Wealth Table in recent decades seem to be those which have controlled population growth: eg. West Germany, Japan, Switzerland. Those which have sunk back include Australia, Canada and the USA, all of whose governments have actually welcomed and encourage population growth. Since a country which is itself in economic difficulties is unlikely to be able to offer major aid to poorer countries or to its own disadvantaged classes, the above economic possibility implies an argument, both in terms of social justice and of global/humanitarian concern, for rapidly dismantling any policies which aim at population growth.

(c) **Global / Humanitarian Issues**

Australia is a sovereign nation with few major international treaty obligations other than those for World Heritage Areas and for Human Rights. Yet it does come under strong and I believe legitimate moral pressure from the international community to do four things. Each of these four has implications for our population size; though not all are as yet equally well recognized. I believe it will be useful to list them in the reverse of the order that might occur to most people.

"Environmentalists ... have pointed out that each Australian or American citizen uses energy and resources equivalent to between 30 and 60 typical third world citizens."

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(1).**Control of our own population size.** Pressure from the international community on this issue is relatively recent. It comes (a) from the UN (including the Bruntland Report), (b) from national and international environmental groups, and (c) from organizations like the British Family Planning Organization which recently, through its patron Prince Philip, launched an appeal for all nations to control their population growth.

In the last few years environmentalists have increasingly argued that the world's worst problem with population growth, environmentally speaking, is not in the third world but in first world countries like Australia, Canada, and the USA. Australia is said to have the fastest population growth of any first world country. Environmentalists like David Suzuki and Paul Ehrlich have pointed out that each Australian or American citizen uses energy and resources equivalent to between 30 and 60 typical third world citizens. Even on the more conservative figure of 30, this makes Australia's 17 million the equivalent of over half a billion third world people — and in a region very much less fertile than, say, India or China.

(2). **Obligations to help reduce global warming, ozone-thinning, and other global effects.** Here again, Impact = PAT, and all three multiplicands have to be kept down. Granted that it is difficult to see first world governments voluntarily reducing affluence, or using only low-impact technologies, much stress must fall on population. In David Suzuki's words from *It's A Matter of Survival:*

> *Regardless of the angle from which you observe the critical state of the planet, you always arrive at the same bottom line — human population growth is out of control ... There are too many of us; we consume too much; we pollute too much ... The greenhouse effect is us and it is specifically us in the Western world ... the most serious population problem in the world is right here."*

(3). **Overseas Aid and Immigration.**

Firstly, immigration is no substitute for aid. It is relatively easy to show that the cost to the taxpayer (both in investment and in outright grants) of settling in one family of selected "economic refugees" in such a way that they do not form a pocket of poverty, might, if more wisely used in the country of origin, have prevented scores of families being displaced. Emphasis therefore should fall on overseas aid. This aid should be targeted less for political leverage and more towards population/sustainability projects, contraception, and education of women, and health care. There is much evidence that female literacy is the single most important (and most cost effective) step towards population/sustainability balance in the world's poorest countries. Selective pirating of skilled immigrants from third world countries is of course the reverse of aid.

Secondly, a policy of high levels of immigration

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makes it almost impossible to convince Australians that they have either a social or a global moral duty to have smaller families. At the same time it provides people in overcrowded countries with a justification for continuing to have large families. True, the percentage of people from India or China etc. who can hope to emigrate to Australia is not statistically significant to the country of origin; but many people do not think statistically. Anyone who has travelled in such countries and talked to people about contraception knows how they cling to straws to justify large family size. The belief that there is an "empty country" called Australia is a very large straw indeed. Obviously in this area the perception is a greater problem than the reality. Australia has an obligation to tell not only its own citizens but the rest of the world that it cannot take in any large fraction of the world's annual increase of just under 100 million per annum.

(4). **Refugees.**

On a global scale, for Australia to take in economic or environmental refugees may well be counterproductive. Certainly the funds are better spent in the country of origin. Yet there is a strong case for taking in *political* refugees (including not only activists but anyone who is in deadly danger from racial, cultural or ideological persecutions).

Granted that constraints to Australia's population size should be set by environmental and other factors, there is a surprisingly strong moral case for restraint both of non-essential immigration and of family size within Australia, in order to leave more space for political refugees. Even if one accepts the Prime Minister's view that the country could take another seven to eight million people, much of that figure would be supplied by natural increase, and the remaining capacity is less than that of refugees currently passing through camps in other parts of the world — not to mention those who can be expected to do so over the next thirty years or so.

In retrospect our descendants may find it very hard to justify (a) our current policy of large scale non-refugee immigration, apparently aimed at filling up the country's supposed surplus capacity as rapidly as possible, and (b) the total lack of any public information campaign to suggest to Australians that family size is a moral rather than a purely personal choice.

"FUTURE DIRECTIONS"

In the above 4 headings I have assumed that population planning is primarily a responsibility of national governments. This is not to say that they necessarily have close control of the results; but after all you *can* turn the Queen Mary around with an outboard motor provided you give yourself plenty of time to do it, and don't wait till you're near the rocks. Though we have all become more aware of being part of a world community, I believe that, for the present, international population planning will have to be carried out via the policies of national governments.

Overall, I would argue that the various proportional constraints, considered under the four headings above, add up to a most powerful case for revising any government policies whose aim is to increase population.

"...what the third world requires is intelligently targeted aid, not selective emigration."

You may be convinced by most of the above, yet still feel some political difficulty in offering such conclusions to a nation which has traditionally been more inclined to see population growth as panacea than as problem. Yet I believe there *are* some important statements your final Report can make which will be generally accepted:

1. The simple point that Australia is not the large fertile country which the propaganda of our immigration-seeking years pretended it was.

2. That we cannot take in a significant fraction of the world's annual population increase of around 100 million — and that we have an obligation to tell the rest of the world that this is so.

3. I believe you should deal directly with the issue of "population prejudice" and point out that the seemingly unshakeable belief of many Australians that our country is a special case and will never have too many people may be a typical nationalistic attitude, echoed in countries as diverse as India, Nigeria, France, and Britain.

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4. I believe you could also reach the finding that what the third world requires is intelligently targeted aid, not selective emigration.

5. I also believe you should lay great stress on what Christobel Young has described as the "demographic Rubicon." It appears that, granted the present birth rate, there is a precise per capita rate of net immigration (one currently equivalent to around 50,000 net per annum) beyond which the projections are for indefinite population growth. At immigration rates below that figure we get a graph that does at least level off at some specific point in the future.

Of course, if the birth rate goes up or down the position of this Rubicon would change. But the importance of the Rubicon is, I think, still enormous. I believe you could reasonably reach the finding that all rational discussion of desirable *long term* immigration rates must deal in the range *below* this Rubicon. (Note that it is possible to be below the Rubicon, and still on course for a graph which will level off only at 100 or even 200 million.)

6. I believe the Report needs a chapter on a long-term strategy of public education to change our present public *un*awareness of population issues.

7. To decide how many people is too many, you will need a clear definition of overpopulation — a concept that is nowhere defined in the draft Report. You might find it useful to consider the following two formulations, taken from our earlier submissions and from our policy document, "Future Directions:"

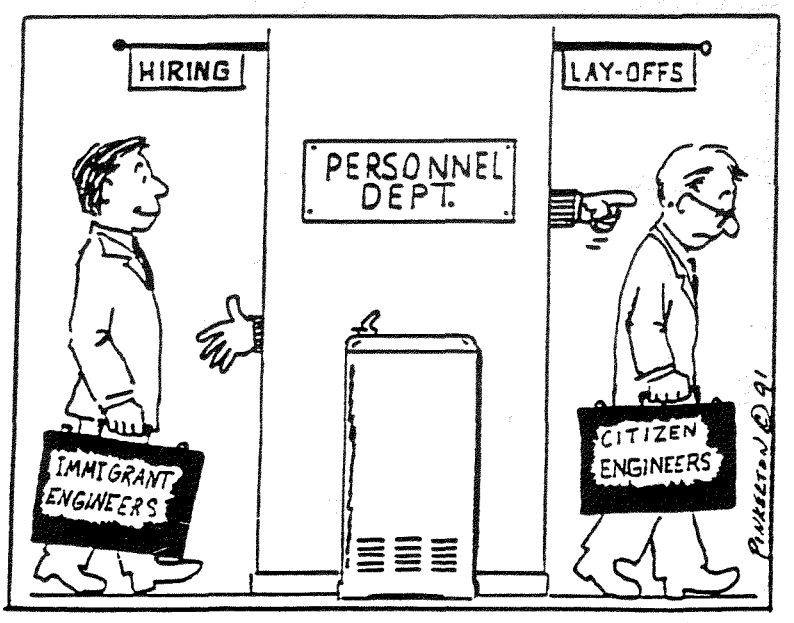
> *A nation must be considered overpopulated when it is unable to provide for this population at the level on which they insist except by seriously degrading its natural and agricultural heritage, including forests, coastlines and coastal waters.*
>
> *An overpopulated country is not necessarily a crowded one. Even India and China have large areas that are sparsely populated. Over population is better defined as a condition in which the community cannot live on its environmental "interest" and so must deplete its "capital."*

Good luck.

Yours sincerely,

Mark O'Connor

* * *



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Billy E. Reed is president of the American Engineering Association. Its members feel particularly hard-pressed by the current immigration law which, in their opinion, badly distorts U.S. educational priorities. Please note the cartoon on page 52.

Engineers and Immigration

By Billy E. Reed

Starting in the early 1980s pundits told us that we must change from a manufacturing-based economy to one grounded in services. The smoke stack industries which made America the world's dominant economic superpower were no longer a suitable underpinning for an economy. We were also told we must rely on our technological leadership to take up the slack and provide the jobs of the future. "Our future depends on maintaining our technological leadership." "We must have engineers, scientists." "We need access to the world's best and brightest," the universities and industry explained to us. "We must enlarge the engineering schools to keep the pipeline full," became the battle cry.

Congress reacted predictably. They loosened the immigration laws to allow easier access for foreign workers. They appropriated billions of dollars to update the laboratories and classrooms, to purchase the latest in equipment, and to enlarge our schools of engineering. But, at the very same time U.S. universities were going overseas to recruit students to fill those recently expanded schools.

A huge fraud has been perpetrated on the citizens of the United States! For nearly four decades we have been hearing of an impending engineering shortage — not a shortage which is upon us, but one which is five or ten years into the future.

For years the American public has been the target of 'Engineering Shortage Propaganda' or ESP. Here's how ESP works. An industry association or a government agency does a study or survey which is "proof positive" there will be a shortage of engineers. Other studies are made by organizations supporting the first study, often quoting the first study as one of its sources. The ESP is widely circulated by the news media, federal agencies and the universities. They repeat the Engineering Shortage Propaganda until it becomes "common knowledge."

Typical of the predictions of engineer shortages is one of the most widely quoted "sources" of recent times, a survey in the early '80s by the American Electronics Association — in which they surveyed themselves. The AEA is an association of manufacturers and this report was the darling of the shortage-shouters for the first half of the decade of the 1980s.

Only after several years of quoting their survey, and three years after the Simpson-Rodino immigration bill passed, did the American Electronics Association admit their survey only indicated a "shortage of electronic engineers" and should not have implied a "shortage of all engineers." In early 1986 Pat Hill Hubbard of the American Electronics Association finally admitted that "the electrical engineering shortage no longer exists." In an article in the American Electronics Association's publication *Update* (which, at that time, still maintained there was a shortage of engineers), he characterized it as an "unfortunate editorial misrepresentation" and a problem of "semantics."

"For years the American public has been the target of 'Engineering Shortage Propaganda'"

The spokesperson for the American Electronics Association at the March 1983 immigration hearings, Mr. John Calhoun, Director of Business Development for Intel Corporation, stated: "The shortage (of engineers) is so severe that Intel has been forced to open design facilities in Israel, France and Japan simply due to the availability of highly skilled technical talent. Shortages of electrical, electronic and computer engineers are caused by high rates of company growth and an inability of universities to increase U.S. graduates due to a lack of faculty."

Despite the "high rates of company growth," in less than two years Intel began to lay off engineers.

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By the first quarter of 1986 Intel had laid off nearly 5,000 workers most of whom were in the United States.

In 1987 the National Science Foundation, (NSF), issued its own report (never officially released) which stated there would be a "shortfall" of 675,000 engineers and scientists by the year 2010. Again, this report was quoted by the press, by Congress, industry, academia, and everyone with a vested interest in having a shortage of engineers.

As a result of all of this publicity, changes were incorporated into the Immigration Reform Act of 1990 that roughly *tripled* the number of visas available for foreign engineers and scientists, and effectively eliminating any protection for American citizens available in the previous law.

After the NSF report had been the "authoritative source" on the subject of engineering shortages for five years, the Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology held hearings on the report early in 1992. Witness after witness described the study as "flawed" and said it should not "be taken as serious scientific work." The author of the report was asked in the hearings if he had done anything to prevent the report from being misused or misquoted. His answer was "no." Representative Howard Wolpe, who chaired the hearings, indicated: "The agency's drive for an increased education budget drove the 'shortfall' study...."

"Since the passage of the 1990 immigration law, unemployment of engineers has reached record highs. Yet, misrepresentations continue."

The result: we now have immigration laws based on reports characterized as "flawed," which should not "be taken as serious scientific work;" as "unfortunate editorial misrepresentations" and problems of "semantics." To be blunt, they were based on lies and fraud!

Since the passage of the 1990 immigration law, unemployment of engineers has reached record highs. Yet, misrepresentations continue. As late as August 1992, an article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* speaking of the "hard time" several of the defense-aerospace companies were having finding engineers. Each of the companies cited had laid off engineers within the last six months. The article also quoted the NSF study mentioned above.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D.-GA) estimates as many as two million additional civilian and military jobs will be lost by 1996, even if Congress does not cut the defense budget further than President Bush has proposed.

Through the unemployment of our current stock of engineers, we are losing millions of years of technical experience. Any further immigration of engineers now can only exacerbate the problem. Once this experience is lost, it can never be recovered fully. One prefers to fly with a pilot who has some years of experience in the cockpit; one would rather be operated on by a doctor who has been in the operating suite over a period of time. We face the problem with our engineers of losing their development on the job.

Industry, academia and federal agencies have defrauded the American people, using immigration as the vehicle. Industry gets cheap, imported engineering labor; universities expand and provide tenure for more and more of their own, while the federal agencies' bureaucracy grows, thus ensuring their own existence. The taxpayer and the citizen engineer pay the price.

Though the NSF hearings by Representative Wolpe were both very helpful and necessary, they changed nothing from the engineers' perspective. We now need to revise the current immigration laws to significantly lower the levels of technical and professional immigrants so we can provide the high quality jobs to our own people and make it reasonable for our own students to enter the engineering profession.

To do less will send a message to the engineering community and to propsective engineering students that they and the contribution they could make to the nation's economic life and security are expendable. To do less will ultimately fulfill the self-serving prophecies of the purveyors of Engineering Shortage Propaganda. ■

[The American Engineering Association, Inc. can be reached through Box 820473, Fort Worth, TX 76182 or by calling (214) 264-6428.]

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Moratoriums are time-honored instruments in American political life. We have had them for topics ranging from the underground testing of nuclear weapons to the suspension of basketball at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas while its ethical problems were sorted out. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) is calling for a moratorium on immigration to give the United States a 'breather' and enable it to put the immigration-policy house in order. Executive director Dan Stein presents the case.

Why America Needs A Moratorium On Immigration

By Dan Stein

Recent public opinion polls show that Americans are becoming more concerned about immigration. According to a recent Roper poll, fifty-five percent of the respondents support a temporary moratorium on all legal immigration, except for spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens.

A moratorium — a temporary freeze in immigration — may sound like a radical proposal. Given their support for the idea, most Americans apparently accept the concept. Many ideas that seemed radical just a few years ago are suddenly finding new acceptance at a time when many Americans believe the political process is spinning out of control. From the concept of a balanced budget amendment, to term limitations for members of Congress, to possibly electing a third party candidate for president, Americans are voicing their dissatisfaction with a political process that has lost touch with the people.

New census data from 1990 reveal that immigration is a major contributor to U.S. population growth, reshaping the culture and character of our nation, and is a partial factor in the growing gap between rich and poor. As a result of an unprecedented wave of immigration over the last 30 years, the United States now has the greatest foreign-born population in our history. And there is no end in sight. Changes made in the immigration laws in 1990 mean that today's foreign-born population of 20 million will grow to at least 30 million by the year 2000.

The stress of this unending influx is beginning to take its toll. The riots in Los Angeles, and growth projections for California as a whole, present a compelling case that, right now, America is unprepared for more people. Our schools, housing, employment, living standards and deteriorating infrastructure demand a short pause in immigration.

The idea is not new. In the 18th and 19th centuries, immigration waves were short and modest. They often corresponded to acute, short-term situations. But in the 20th century, the situation is different. The huge wave that began in 1890 started with cheap steamer fares and recruitment by labor contractors. It ended in 1921 only because Congress finally imposed limits that curtailed immigration substantially.

As noted immigration historian John Higham, and Sloan Foundation expert Michael Teitelbaum have recently observed, the lull in immigration beginning with 1920 and continuing through the mid-1960s provided the breathing space that enabled the newcomers in that large wave to assimilate and prosper.

"As a result of an unprecedented wave of immigration over the last 30 years, the United States now has the greatest foreign-born population in our history."

An immigration moratorium now would provide an opportunity to examine what has happened to this society in the past three decades of massive, unprecedented legal and illegal immigration. We must then move toward establishing immigration policies which will allow us to stabilize our population, halt the decline in American living

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standards, and reduce the increasingly divisive cultural fragmentation and ethnic tension.

Immigration to the United States in all forms now surpasses one million annually. Nearly 3 million are on waiting lists abroad for visas to enter permanently. A recent study by the Census Bureau found that there are 20 million immediate relatives of American citizens and resident aliens who are potentially eligible for entry with an immigration preference. A 1989 *Los Angeles Times* poll in Mexico found that 4.7 million Mexicans — about 6 percent of their population of 85 million — intended to emigrate to the United States.

"Ultimately, we need to answer this question: what should be the purpose of immigration, now and in the future?"

All indicators show that the U.S. migrant intake system is overloaded, and is easily manipulated by fraud and deceit. Using phony documents and false claims, immigrants routinely are able to create delays and outwit overburdened hearing examiners. False claims of U.S. citizenship are nearly impossible to detect, while those who overstay visas can easily remain in the U.S. indefinitely.

Worldwide demand for settlement in the United States will escalate in the 1990s. The Third World's labor force will expand by half-a-billion job seekers in the next decade, and will look beyond the borders of their economically underdeveloped countries for economic hope. Millions of earlier immigrants will bring in family members, and political and social unrest abroad will generate millions more refugees worldwide. Like a chain letter, an initial trickle turns into a stream that becomes a river and then a flood. Like shoveling snow in a blizzard, the more rapidly immigrants are admitted by a beleaguered INS, the faster grows the backlog of relatives waiting to enter.

Because all efforts by Congress to solve these problems have quickly collapsed under intense special interest pressure, America needs a three-year moratorium to:

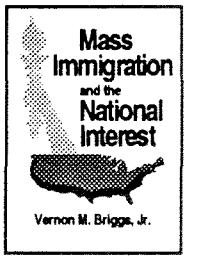
- reduce illegal immigration;
- implement and improve a national documents protocol to verify work eligibility;
- revise immigration laws to reduce substantially overall numbers (to around 300,000 annually); and
- complete a comprehensive analysis of the long-term effects of future immigration and population growth on the demography, the environment, and the cultural and employment / economic resources of our country.

Ultimately, we need to answer this question: what should be the purpose of immigration, now and in the future?

Until we answer that basic question, a moratorium on immigration may be the only option we have left. ■

Mass Immigration and the National Interest

by Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.



"The extraordinary influence on U.S. immigration policy of short-term special interests, frequently to the detriment of the long-term national interest, is clearly demonstrated by Vernon Briggs in his excellent analysis of this important subject."

-- Senator Alan K. Simpson (R-WY)

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In the United States, bilingual controversies are the stepchild of immigration policy. For instance, if we had the same immigration policy as Japan (we're NOT advocating this...) we would have approximately the same problem with bilingualism they have: none. Hence our interest in the issue, reported on here in an article reprinted with permission from the October 1991 issue of The American Legion Magazine © *1991. Robert McGarvey is a free-lance journalist based in Los Angeles.*

Double Talk:

The Bilingual Education Controversy

By Robert McGarvey

Protesters demonstrate regularly at Glenwood Elementary School. It is a school not much different from hundreds of others in the Los Angeles Unified School District, except perhaps the students at Glenwood, drawn from the bedraggled Sun Valley neighborhood, are a bit poorer than others.

The protesters, like Glenwood's students, are predominantly Hispanic. Some carry placards proclaiming that Glenwood is "racist" or "KKK." The magnet of their ire is Glenwood's Sally Peterson, a kindergarten teacher who vocally opposes bilingual education.

Peterson, founder of the lobbying group, Learning English Advocates Drive (LEAD), said her detractors are "racists who are turning their backs on the children. Bilingual education is a total disservice to the kids."

Welcome to the ongoing debate over how to teach immigrant children who speak a language other than English. "Bilingual education has become a very controversial issue," said Rosalie Pedalino Porter, former head of bilingual education for the Newton, Mass., public schools and author of *Forked Tongue*,[1] an overview of the nation's 20-year history of bilingual education. "American educators should not be calling each other 'racist,' but that's exactly what we've come to."

That opinion is especially troubling at a time when America's schools have been flooded by 2 million children with limited English proficiency. In a number of states, including Florida, New York and Texas, nearly 25 percent of the student population are non-native non-English speakers. More than 150 languages — from Haitian Creole through Khmer — are now the primary languages spoken by children who arrived on U.S. soil during the 1980s, a decade that saw a record-breaking number of immigrants — 9 million compared to 8.8 million in the historic 1901-1910 decade. Furthermore, according to the U.S. Department of Education, Spanish-speaking homes alone account for 10 percent of the nation's students, and by 2000, that's projected to increase to 12 percent.

Aggravating the problem's severity is that today's education strategies aren't working, at least not for Hispanics. Their dropout rate is a staggering 36 percent, compared to 15 percent for blacks, and 13 percent for whites. In another measure, while 24 percent of the overall American population ages 25 to 34 have graduated from college, the Hispanic rate is just 12 percent.

In earlier decades, Germans, Poles, Chinese and others arrived on U.S. shores not being able to speak a word of English and received little if any assistance from schools in acclimating to a new language. Those were the years when "immersion" — thrusting a child into an English-speaking classroom — was the guiding doctrine.

"'Traditional bilingual education teaches the kids a little Spanish, less English, and a lot of nothing. It's a total disservice to them.' — Sally Peterson of LEAD"

Porter, herself an immigrant from Italy who couldn't speak English when she arrived in America, vividly recalls her tearful childhood introduction to Newark, N.J., English-only classes during the late 1930s. "No help whatever was provided. It was painful," she said. "I had to learn English fast."

Why are today's newcomers treated differently?

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No educator believes that immersing a non-English-speaking child in an English-only classroom without some form of help is either humane or effective. Amelia McKenna, an assistant superintendent in the Los Angeles Unified School District, explained: "We don't know what the dropout rate was in immersion's heyday, but it was probably high. But it wasn't noticeable then because the economy absorbed unskilled labor," she told the *New York Times*. "We're not going to be educating these children for the 21st century if we just continue what we have been doing in the past."

It wasn't until 1968 that Congress, during an era of intense minority activism, opened a funding spigot, the Bilingual Education Act, to make money available to school districts which asked for help in educating English-deficient pupils. Then, in 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court stiffened the ante in its landmark *Lau* ruling, which decided that non-English-speaking children were effectively barred from equal access to educational facilities and, therefore, ruled the court, schools were obliged to offer "special assistance." Neither the 1968 law nor *Lau* specified the form remedies might take, and educators at the time saw merit in several options. Two such remedies were "structured immersion," in which students are put in English-only classes but trained teachers give individualized help, and "early-exit" crash courses in English, in which other teaching is put on hold until the child gains fluency in English.

"'Politicians are mandating an educational solution. Government does not tell educators how to teach math. Why is this situation different?' — Rosalie Pedalino Porter"

But the Carter administration's Department of Education soon endorsed a third method: Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), which provides English-language instruction while coursework proceeds in the student's native language.

Congress, in turn, supported TBE in its 1974 and subsequent renewals of the act. But that is the rub, said Porter. "Politicians are mandating an educational solution. Government does not tell educators how to teach math. Why is this situation different?"

Transitional Bilingual Education is where the battle lines are drawn, but just what is it? In TBE, a non-English speaking student (Spanish-speaking pupils account for more than two-thirds of the children in bilingual classes) receives an hour or two of English as a foreign language and the rest of the day is filled with geography, history, math and other subjects taught in the child's native language. Students who do not swiftly acquire English may remain in this segregated regimen for six, nine, even 12 years. In New Jersey, Porter pointed out, a student could win a high school diploma by passing an achievement test in any of 12 languages, from Spanish to Arabic; English fluency is not required for graduation.

Bilingual education advocates offer three reasons for their support. The first, said Steven Carbo, an attorney with the Washington, D.C.-based Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, is that TBE offers heightened opportunity for parental involvement in a child's schooling. "The success of any educational program in part is contingent on parental involvement," Carbo said. "When a child comes from a limited-English background, TBE provides a greater opportunity for the family to be involved." In other words, if Johnny takes a math problem to dad and the question is framed in a language both understand, the father can help. If, however, the question is in English and dad isn't fluent, he's lost before the child finishes asking the question.

Enhanced self-esteem is a second reason, said Denise De LaRosa, education policy analyst for the National Council of La Raza, a Washington D.C. Hispanic-American advocacy group. "When a teacher addresses a child in his or her own language, that child will feel more accepted," she said. "Many non-Anglos have been made to feel lesser and this is a key factor in why we haven't assimilated as quickly as possible."

Bilingual education also reduces the number of school dropouts, according to De LaRosa. "If we devote full time to English teaching, neglecting other courses, the child will fall further and further behind." If math, history and other subjects are put on the backburner until Johnny gains English fluency, he may be embarrassingly old before he can

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effectively approach regular subjects. "It's no fun for a 10-year-old to be doing first-grade math," De LaRosa said. "Being held back causes students to drop out. With bilingual education, the child can keep up with his coursework while acquiring English. What could be wrong with that?"

Plenty could be wrong with it, said LEAD's Peterson. "If we want these kids to break out of the poverty cycle, we better teach them English right away. Transitional bilingual education teaches the kids a little Spanish, less English, and a lot of nothing. It's a total disservice to them."

"How could it be otherwise," asked Washington D.C.-based consultant Gary Imhof, editor of *Learning In Two Languages*. "When the bulk of the day is spent learning in another language, typically Spanish, that child is not going to learn English."

"'What's saddest is that the children have become pawns. A long time ago we all should have stopped calling each other names and should have become committed to search for the ... programs that will help these children succeed in our society.' — Rosalie Porter"

Rosalie Porter said, "In 1968 we began TBE as an experiment because we wanted to see if it would do the kids some good. After 20 years, we know it's neither the best nor the only way to assist these children. There are caring alternatives — programs that get the students speaking English in a hurry."

Nor are non-English speaking Americans united in support of TBE. Philip Vargas, president of the consulting company Human Research & Development, is a product of a Spanish-speaking home: "English is the language of America and the basic tool for survival and success in our society," Vargas said. "[TBE is] a means whereby we Hispanics maintain our own subordination and retard our ability to take advantage of the many opportunities available."

One undisputed fact is that TBE has not been proved to be beneficial. Hispanic dropout rates remain high: in Boston, after 20 years of TBE, the dropout rate is essentially unchanged. TBE supporters concede that "an awkward tension blankets the lack of empirical demonstration of the success of bilingual education programs," noted Kenji Hakuta, an education psychologist at the University of California. Hopes for proof were recently dashed when a four-year-study found no meaningful difference in academic performance by students enrolled in TBE or other styles of bilingual education classes.

Then why are so many still deeply committed to TBE? "I call it 'bilingualgate,'" Peterson said. "It's little more than a hiring program for Spanish-speaking teachers. The program actually punishes success because those teaching jobs would be threatened if the children learned English."

The advocates disagree. "Many people are frustrated because they wanted a quick fix. There isn't one," said De LaRosa. "Properly supported, TBE will work and it will give us students fluent in two languages."

Will the debate ever be resolved? Lately, there is encouraging news. In its 1988 revision of the Bilingual Education Act, Congress increased funding for new approaches to educating English-deficient students. Before, just 4 percent of allotted monies could be used in those ways, but now up to 25 percent of the federal funding is available for non-TBE methods.

"This is good news," said Porter. "What's saddest is that the children have become pawns. A long time ago we all should have stopped calling each other names and should have become committed to search for the best, most effective programs — the programs that will help these children succeed in our society. Let's acknowledge that's what we all want. Fortunately, with Congress increasing flexibility, it's now up to us in education to be doing the testing, seeing what works in practice, in the classroom. That is the way out of the debate — the only way." ■

[1] *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* by Rosalie Pedalino Porter was reviewed by Kathryn Bricker in the Winter 1990-91 issue of *The Social Contract*.

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With the 'new world disorder' breaking out in many corners of the globe, two Los Angeles Times *foreign affairs writers give their interpretations and predictions. Reviewer Ira Mehlman directs the Writers' Support Group for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).*

Life In a World of Lots of Little Powder Kegs

A Book Review by Ira Mehlman

FLASHPOINTS: PROMISE AND PERIL
IN A NEW WORLD ORDER
by Robin Wright and Doyle McManus
Alfred A.Knopf (1991)
258 pp, $24

In those euphoric days back in 1989, as the Berlin Wall and the communist system crumbled before our eyes, it is understandable how normally sober individuals could have gotten carried away in the excitement of the times. We watched as our most formidable adversary was stripped of its imperiousness and then simply ceased to exist. It all happened so fast and with such drama that none of us had the time to contemplate its ramifications.

The conservative pundit, Francis Fukuyama, went so far as to declare the end of history. The president of the United States asserted that a new world order had been established in which America was to return to the preeminence it enjoyed a half century earlier when the old world order was first established. A statesman like Churchill, were he still around, might have cautioned us to curb our enthusiasm. From our perspective three years removed from those events, we now know, paraphrasing Churchill, that 1989 was not the end of history, or even the beginning of the end of history. More aptly, it was the end of the beginning of the era in which mankind acquired the capacity to destroy itself utterly. The defeat of communism was indeed a monumental event, but it did not herald the start of a messianic age.

After living for so long with our finger on the nuclear trigger in preparation for the ultimate showdown with the Soviet Union, the first thing we saw was the infinite promise of a world that did not exist under the constant threat of instant annihilation. "There was much to celebrate," Robin Wright and Doyle McManus observe in their book entitled *Flashpoints*. "The end of the Cold War had plunged mankind into a period of change so pervasive that a half-century's assumptions about the shape of the world were suddenly obsolete. Almost overnight, old tyrannies dissolved and new vistas of freedom opened."

Unfortunately, while the world had changed dramatically, human nature had not. New vistas of freedom mean little to people for whom freedom and tolerance are alien concepts, and for whom mere survival is a more immediate challenge. Freedom, we quickly discovered, is a double-edged sword. It can permit humans to flourish and reach their fullest potential, but it can also present them with an opportunity to carry out their basest instincts. "For all the promise of a new era," write the authors, "the historic evolution seemed, rather abruptly to take a wrong turn. ... The much-heralded 'new world order' was more often than not characterized by new global disorder. Far from a halcyon new dawn, the transition to a new era brought one expected nightmare after another."

The western democracies' 45-year preoccupation with the military threat from the Soviet Union had allowed us to sweep aside the myriad other international problems that were, in reality, far more difficult to deal with. Though we had labeled it the "evil empire," we had reached a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union. We came to understand what made each other tick and just how far we could push one another. We

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were two different worlds, but we both had something to lose and we were not about to lose it over just anything.

Flashpoints, as its title suggests, examines the litany of conditions, tribal animosities, grievances, inequities and injustices that could lead to confrontation in the post-Cold War era. But more significantly, Wright and McManus illustrate again and again how little we understand about the brave new world in which we suddenly find ourselves living. We must completely change our way of thinking. We went from situations with an enemy we knew and understood to a world without established rules in which we must deal with faceless people who may or may not mean us any harm, but who have nothing to lose and thus nothing to hold them back.

"...the growth of Third World population is so great that even the small percentage of those attempting to migrate to the developed world will have a profoundly destabilizing effect on the Western Democracies."

Flashpoints is a sobering description of a chaotic world in which none of the old rules apply. In a remarkable chapter entitled "The Human Wave," Wright and McManus, foreign affairs reporters for the *Los Angeles Times*, take a macro look at the potential dangers of unbridled migration and its root cause — exploding populations — subjects many of their colleagues have been loath to touch. With the exception of the chapter devoted to "Global Plagues," the twin themes of population growth and mass movements of people are central to each of the flashpoints that are likely to touch off an explosion.

"The common denominator in both internal and international migrations is not political oppression or war, as in the past; this time around, the primary motive is economic misery. ... But unlike ... migratory swells of the past, these are occurring in a world that will run out of inhabitable frontiers in the twenty-first century," they contend. One might quibble about whether we have to wait for the 21st century, but the essential point is clear — that a world in which millions want to move, but have no place to which to move, is a powder keg.

Suddenly uprooted from their traditional cultures and support systems, the new migrants are destined to become an enormous alienated class without a stake in their new environments. Rural to urban migration in much of the Third World has already created 'hypercities' consisting of sprawling shanty towns that are largely ungovernable. A billion people are expected to follow this path during the 1990s. The result is informal sectors in many countries that have developed into de facto states-within-states, and that are powerful enough to rival established governments for dominance. "Long-term, they represent a challenge to the Modern Age's emphasis on order — in organizing the form of human settlements, in regulating the norms and conduct of human life, in providing standards for commerce, education, development or political intercourse."

The ordered terror of mutually assured destruction may soon seem like the good old days. So long as the outbreak of anarchy is limited to nations like Somalia, that are sufficiently out of the way and have nothing the rest of the world wants anyway, the repercussions are not likely to be felt by anyone but the poor souls who had the misfortune to be born in those countries. But the day is fast approaching, predict Wright and McManus, when anarchy will break out in countries in which the developed world does have a stake.

While the preponderance of migration is going to be internal, from rural to urban areas, the growth of Third World population is so great that even the small percentage of those attempting to migrate to the developed world will have a profoundly destabilizing effect on the Western democracies. In addition to

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legitimate concern by reasonable people, a rise in right wing nativism is forecast, a prediction that has already proven disturbingly accurate in Germany.

Perhaps, had the book been written after rather than before the Los Angeles riots, some note might have been made about the role immigration played in that social breakdown. The authors observe that Los Angeles' population is likely to swell to more than 10 million, primarily as a result of immigration. They also observe, in their chapter on the "Rise of Nations," that we are witnessing a fundamental reshaping of the "social contract between the individual and the state." Among its consequences, the authors suggest, is the shift in primary allegiances "to the smaller nuclear community — ethnic, national or religious."

"Flashpoints *is a vivid warning that we now had better be prepared to compete in a world where most people are merely struggling to survive."*

In Los Angeles, we saw that happen. It was a descent into tribal conflict by and among people without a stake in the established order. Blacks who never had a full stake in the society were joined by newly-arrived Hispanics in venting their frustration against a social structure they increasingly perceived as having no place for them. In such a society it's every tribe for itself, or even every man for himself. As people from around the world pour into places like Los Angeles, frustrated and rootless, they threaten to create a destabilizing disorder.

One can read *Flashpoints* and disagree with some of the authors' assessments and conclusions. After carefully laying out the dangers of rapid population growth and mass migration, Wright and McManus inexplicably back away from the inevitable conclusion that Western democracies will have to limit immigration if they hope to survive. Rather they worry about whether the developed world will be able to get by without a growing population and question the reluctance of some societies "even to consider balancing ... population or labor shortfalls with new permanent immigrants." It's almost as if they hadn't read the first 188 pages of their own book.

As the military historian Clausewitz once noted, generals often prepare to fight the last war. In much the same respect, modern societies prepare to deal with the last crisis. We have spent our lives guarding against a sinister attack from a competing superpower who meant us harm. *Flashpoints* is a vivid warning that we now had better be prepared to compete in a world where most people are merely struggling to survive. There will be no evil empires in the future to confront, rather billions of desperate people with no stake in and no respect for the order our civilization has so meticulously established. ■

-- NEW FROM THE CENTER --

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Biologist Garrett Hardin has lectured and written about population matters for over forty years. The definitive statement of his position will be published in 1993 by the Oxford University Press under the title Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Population Taboos.

Birth Control: Its Past and Future

A Book Review by Garrett Hardin

THE PILL, PYGMIE CHIMPS,
AND DEGAS' HORSE
By Carl Djerassi
Basic Books, 1992
319 pp., $25

Not many autobiographies of scientists are of interest to the general reader, but Djerassi's is an exception. Fleeing Sofia and Vienna in 1939 at the age of sixteen, he embarked on a spectacularly successful career in the United States. After receiving his training in chemistry, he went to Mexico for two years where he put Syntex on the map as an internationally important manufacturer of basic biochemicals. At age 28, he brought the contraceptive pill into practical production. During the 1950s, Djerassi, now back in the U.S., contributed in many ways to the success of the "Pill." At Stanford, he developed into a fantastically successful trainer of graduate students, all the while guiding the Syntex company to prosperity. At age 49, he turned his attention to the education of undergraduates, with equal success.

"...restrictions on government aid in getting birth control materials and instructions to foreign populations ...help to swell the army of poor people striving to be admitted as immigrants to the United States."

Readers of a eugenic turn of mind may note his distinguished heritage. Both parents were physicians. His father was notably youthful at all ages: he took up skiing at 50, driving at age 60, and swimming at 85, despite an intense fear of the water. The senior Dr. Djerassi died at age 96.

The social and political resistances to the introduction of the Pill in the 1950s seem trifling to us now. The American branch of the Roman Catholic church was not yet fully alarmed. In Spain and Italy, the Pill was introduced as an agent of "menstrual regulation," as a true but hardly a completely frank acknowledgement of its purpose. Such euphemistic tact would be wasted today: the abortifacient capabilities of "RU 486," for instance, are well known and beyond disguise (though this new drug does have other medicinal qualities). Even the true contraceptives, now almost universally accepted by the American public, have been harried by the government. Though nominally without religious commitment, the Reagan administration put Roman Catholics in key positions of power over medical matters, as — for the first time — an American ambassador was sent to the Vatican. The long existing American policy of helping poor nations in their struggle to achieve control of their birth rates has been transmuted into something scarcely distinguishable from a policy that might have come out of the Vatican. Coincidence? In the light of the feature story in *Time* magazine, 24 February 1992, such an innocent coincidence is hardly credible. Perhaps some day government archives will tell us the whole story. In the meantime, new restrictions on government aid in getting birth control materials and instructions to foreign populations — restrictions never subjected to democratic review — help to swell the army of poor people striving to be admitted as immigrants into the United States.

The "father of the Pill" notes another factor that may contribute to the lessening of public interest in contraception: intellectual fatigue, manifesting itself as a change in fashion. When Djerassi first started teaching his birth control class of undergraduates, the males in the class were as numerous as the females. A mere ten years later, well into the Reagan years, scarcely a fifth of the class were men. The proven success of the Pill may have helped to diminish its interest as a topic of general conversation. Whatever the cause, the result, says Djerassi, is that "one more

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responsibility — this time that of contraception — has fallen on the shoulders of women. Many women, of course, accepted it eagerly as an important sign of emancipation and freedom from male dominance, but one of the consequences of that achievement has been a collective shrug of male shoulders, an outcome I deeply regret" (p. 150).

The factors now adversely affecting the advances of birth control are much more than a shrug of the shoulders. The ever-present threat of liability suits chills creativity in medical research. As a matter of method, every innovation on trial should be suspected of producing unwanted side effects. With the legal profession standing by, side effects produce litigation. All the anticipated costs of innovation must be factored into the retail price of each new drug. In the United States, expensive litigation plus equally expensive liability insurance have expanded to the point that $20 million is regarded as the minimum cost of developing an effective new contraceptive. Measured against the Gross National Product, contraceptive pills sold in our country cost four times as much as they do in Sweden, and ten times as much as in Singapore. The steroids that go into these pills are now all manufactured outside the U.S. Moreover, not a single major drug house in America is now engaged in the search for new contraceptives.

Like a Third World country, we are dependent on other nations for both supplies and progress. We have become, as Carl Djerassi says, a "banana republic." He is embarrassed. We *all* should be. The end result, as nations compete in new ways, may cost more than mere embarrassment to our overly litigious nation.

Not everything "Mr. Syntex" touched turned out well. His most conspicuous failure was as a movie producer. A cops-and-robbers production started in Mexico was slated for completion in forty days. It was nine years before "The Big Drop" had its one and only showing on the Stanford campus; it should have been called "The Big Flop." As for his marital career — he had three wives — his own comment perhaps tells the story best: "living with a scientist ... who brought his mistress home every night, must have been hardly bearable." His mistress, of course, was chemistry.

Of his two children, the daughter, an artist, killed herself for reasons the father tragically could not understand. At the present time Djerassi, now very wealthy, has become an important collector of Paul Klee's pictures. His interest in art and artifacts is wide ranging. On a visit to the British Museum, he corrected many of the labels on the museum's pre-Columbian holdings. (This information comes from David Moreau, and is not retold in Djerassi's book.) He writes familiar essays, poetry and novels, all the while supporting an artists' colony. He no doubt agrees with the judgment of George Sarton, the great historian of science: "It is impossible to live reasonably without science, or beautifully without arts and letters." The life of Carl Djerassi has been full of all three. ■

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At about the time this issue of The Social Contract *reaches our readers, Quebec will be voting on its future within Canada. The points of contention are language and, since language is the carrier of culture, differences in culture. Are today's immigration policies in the U.S. setting the stage for future conflicts along these same lines? Reviewer Mark Clayton is a staff writer at* The Christian Science Monitor. *This review, which appeared on August 10, is reprinted by permission.* *© 1992 The Christian Science Publishing Society, all rights reserved.*

Cultures in Conflict

A Book Review by Mark Clayton

OH CANADA! OH QUEBEC!
REQUIEM FOR A DIVIDED COUNTRY
By Mordecai Richler
Alfred A. Knopf, 1992
278 pp. $23

It's tempting for outsiders to shake their heads and wonder why on earth Canada — recently ranked by the United Nations as the world's best place to live — is tied in knots of political self-doubt and might even follow Czechoslovakia down the road of national breakup.

Canada's French-speaking province of Quebec is demanding "distinct society" status and a slew of powers to protect its French heritage. And leading figures in Quebec are raising their voices to say that if Quebec cannot get such protections, the province should split from Canada and form a new country.

The long-bubbling constitutional debate reaches a boil this fall with a referendum on sovereignty in Quebec. And though much has been written in recent years either promoting such a breakup, or questioning its wisdom, little light has been shed on a central stumbling block to Canadian unity: the rapid growth of Quebec separatism fueled by rising nationalism.

Mordecai Richler's *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a Divided Country* (Alfred A. Knopf, 277 pp., $23) sheds heat as well as light on the growth of nationalism in the province and its interweaving with French cultural identity. The combination, he argues, has produced a cultural nationalism fueled by emotion and increasing intolerance of minorities, most notably Quebec's resident Jewish and English-speaking populations. It has also, he writes, led to much wasted time squabbling over non-issues.

"A Quebecer born and bred, I suffer from a recurring nightmare that all of us, French- and English-speaking, will one day be confronted by our grandchildren, wanting to know what our generation was about when the Berlin Wall crumbled ... We will be honor bound to reply, why, in Quebec, we were hammering each other over whether or not bilingual commercial signs could be posted outside as well as inside, ... over whether or not Quebec could be officially crowned 'a distinct society.'"

Note that this book, while little-known in the United States, is extremely controversial at home. After excerpts of the book appeared in *The New Yorker* last fall, Richler found himself under assault from politicians, newspaper publishers and columnists, and even mocked on the streets of Montreal where he lives.

Perhaps best known for his novel *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, Richler's razor-sharp logic and wit target cultural anomalies that include, for example, Montreal's vigilante "tongue troopers" who snap photos of outdoor signs to help the provincial language commission make sure they meet restrictive language laws that limit (or ban in the case of outdoor commercial signs) the use of English. Indoors, bilingual signs are permitted as long as French predominates in color and size of lettering.

The language laws also govern speech used during the conduct of business. Richler recalls an aborted government plan exposed in the local press in which "undercover shoppers were to be sent out to make 4,500 visits to local stores to determine whether salespeople greeted their customers in French or the language of *les autres* [the others]."

Using scores of examples, Richler documents, dissects, and exposes the ideological underpinnings of such laws. Some examples and some of Richler's clever slices at them have a pungent twist readers

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may not appreciate. Yet all serve to chip away steadily at the logic of trying to legislate the maintenance of French culture. Instead, he argues, the province and its French heritage are a valuable party of Canada's identity more likely to survive without the help of the bureaucrats or politicians — and without laws infringing on minority rights of free expression.

But although darts thrown at the language laws take up a good deal of space in the book, this appears to be only one of several arguments meant to undermine the nationalist Parti Québécois position that separating from Canada would cost Quebecers little or nothing at all.

"I am for a referendum in 1992, providing Ottawa has the guts and Quebec the honesty to explain to voters the potential cost of independence," he writes. "Jacques Parizeau [leader of the Parti Québécois], wearing his Tinker Bell suit, actually told a group of Université de Montréal students that independence would not cost a cent and, instead of heaving him out the window, the students clapped hands to show that they believed in fairies."

Richler documents well the absurdities and costs of language laws. Montreal will next year replace 11,000 "Stop / Arrét" signs with ones that say "Arrét" only at a cost of $60,000, he writes. But that may be a small cost when compared with the loss of English-owned businesses and thousands of fed-up English-speaking residents moving to Ontario or elsewhere. And perhaps most worrisome, he writes, are the fervid foundations of a Quebec independence drive that in October 1988, for example, saw 25,000 Québécois nationalists in the street shouting *"Le Québec aux Québécois!"* or, "Quebec for Quebecers."

"After all is said and done, I sometimes fear that I may have missed the point about Quebec's independence," he writes. "Possibly it's a mistake to try to sink with logic an ideological boat that is floated not on rational argument, but on turbulent seas of emotion." ■

The World at a Glance

Based on percentages of the world's current population (as reported in the Old Farmer's Almanac), if there were only 1,000 people in the world, here is how they would be distributed:

Asians — 584 people
Africans — 124
East and West Europeans — 95
Latin Americans — 84
Former Soviets — 55
North Americans — 52
Australians and New Zealanders — 6

— World Features Syndicate

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Al Gore, Senator from Tennessee and Democratic candidate for Vice-President of the United States, wrote the book reviewed here before his selection as a candidate. Our reviewer is attorney / conservationist John Rohe, a regular contributor to The Social Contratct.

A Green Marshall Plan

A Book Review by John Rohe

EARTH IN THE BALANCE:
ECOLOGY AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT
By Al Gore
Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1992
408 PP. $22.95

In spring 1990, President Bush welcomed an international conference on the global environment. Conference materials prepared by the President's staff depicted a scale with several bars of gold balanced against the entire planet Earth. Apparently, the President was indifferent to the irony of placing roughly equivalent values on the few bars of gold with the entire planet and all its natural systems. Ergo, the title of this work: *Earth in the Balance.*

Albert Gore's commitment to ecology and human values was intensified by a motor vehicle accident in 1989. His son, then six, was struck by a car and thrown some thirty feet into the air. He then scraped along the pavement another twenty feet. This was the start of a lengthy "struggle to restore his body and spirit." Senator Gore cites this experience as the "catalyst" which caused him to become "increasingly impatient with the status quo, with conventional wisdom, with the lazy assumption that we could always muddle through. Such complacency has allowed many kinds of difficult problems to breed and grow, but now, facing a rapidly deteriorating global environment, it threatens absolute disaster."

Senator Gore begins his work with the realization that our cumulative ecological impact to the planet now rivals disasters previously believed to be relegated to the exclusive province of forces far beyond our control. For example, he cites the desert which is the former bottomland of the Aral Sea (at one time the fourth largest inland sea in the world); an exponential population growth; the increasing accumulation of waste in nature's sinks (e.g. CO_2 and chlorine accumulation in the atmosphere), the burgeoning extinction rate of our co-tenants on the planet; dead dolphins, oil-soaked birds, and medical waste washed up on beaches; the proliferating landfills. He contends, "...if we are now capable of changing something so basic as the relationship between the earth and the sun, surely we must acknowledge a new responsibility to use that power wisely and with appropriate restraint. So far, however, we seem oblivious to the fragility of the earth's natural systems."

The work analyzes historical causes of our destructive relationship with nature. From a philosophical perspective, he cites Plato's abstract thought and intellectual idealism as distinguished from Aristotle's affinity for the earth, the "ultimate source — through our senses — of all our thoughts". Following the influence of Descartes (I think, therefore I am) "The new modern person pointed decisively upward — away from nature, away from the earth — toward an ethereal realm from which the detached human intellect could observe the movement of matter everywhere in the universe." From a religious perspective, he cites the biblical mandate for 'dominion' over the Earth.

"...complacency has allowed many kinds of difficult problems to breed and grow, but now, facing a rapidly deteriorating global environment, it threatens absolute disaster."

Gore indicates that our global civilization is a threat to the natural diversity previously sheltered by "the inaccessibility of the mountains and the isolation of the valley." Our consumptive orientation (for example, the stroll through the mall is now considered a form of recreation) is seen as imposing burdens both upon our nonrenewable resources, as well as upon our landfills. 'Future abuse' by our dysfunctional civilization is identified as another

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cause: "Like a parent violating the personal boundaries of a vulnerable child, we violate the temporal boundaries of our rightful place in the chain of human generations."

After identifying the problem and its causes, Senator Gore proposes a means of resolving the crisis in the context of our conventional social, cultural, philosophical, religious, democratic and political framework. The NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard) is the protagonist in the author's scheme. The definition of "My Back Yard" is a function of environmental awareness. Is "My Back Yard" limited to the landfill stench a few feet from my home, or does it also embrace the atmospheric sink for CO_2 emissions? — the toxins in distant groundwaters? Enhanced ecological literacy and a heightened sensitivity are prerequisites for Gore's democratic resolution to the crisis.

The book closes with Gore's "Global Marshall Plan" under which efforts would be made to stabilize world population, to develop and share environmentally appropriate technologies, to change the economic rules by which we measure our choices, to negotiate a new generation of international agreements, and to establish a cooperative plan to educate the citizens of the world about our global environment. His list of solutions includes a pragmatic revision of our tax code: "There is an economic rule of thumb: whatever we tax, we tend to get less of; whatever we subsidize, we tend to get more of. Currently, we tax work and we subsidize the depletion of natural resources — and both policies have contributed to high unemployment and the waste of natural resources. What if we lowered the tax on work and simultaneously raised it on the burning of fossil fuels?"

This masterful work has a literary value beyond its profound environmental insight. ■

Re: Assimilation — Could One Make a Movie About the U.S. 'Tribal Myth'?

> Arguably, in the era of interesting new tribal movements — Hispanics, Orientals — the *idea* of the United States has faded, and who would even want to [put on film] white male Europeans in Philadelphia? My answer is that if you don't, there is no country at all. I find Confucius more interesting, in many ways, than Thomas Paine, but it is Paine that gave us those relative freedoms that now, unscreened, we lose through the Supreme Court.
>
> — Gore Vidal, interviewed by Michael Anderson as part of a review of Mr. Vidal's newest book, *Screening History* (*New York Times Book Review*, August 30, 1992). The book review is by Michael Kammen.

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Scipio Garling gives us his view of one of the signal publication events of this quarter. Mr. Garling is in-house computer expert and librarian for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

Liberals, Conservatives and Immigration

A Magazine Essay Reviewed by Scipio Garling

"Time to Rethink Immigration?"
By Peter Brimelow
National Review
June 22, 1992

According to Peter Brimelow, conservative writer and a senior editor at *Forbes* magazine, a conspiracy of silence between liberals and conservatives has completely distorted the immigration process — both as to who and how many people we let in, and what we do with the newcomers afterwards. Brimelow, himself an immigrant, asserts that the present wave of immigration is not a "natural phenomenon," but rather a definite policy choice — a choice that is utterly transforming the nation, and not for the better."

Brimelow's is not the first article in a conservative journal to question the wisdom of present immigration policies. This year alone there have been three such articles in the *Conservative Review*.[1] *Chronicles* has been covering the topic regularly for several years.[2] Lawrence Auster's article in the April 27 issue of *National Review* on multiculturalism and immigration entitled, "The Forbidden Topic," set the stage for Brimelow. The publication of Brimelow's 16-page piece indicates that there seems to be a growing consensus among some intellectuals on the right that it is time to talk about immigration. This is a "watershed in the development of conservative thought on immigration," according to Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

Liberals and conservatives have supported immigration for different reasons, Brimelow observes, and both do so misguidedly. "American liberals, of course, are determinedly, even devoutly, incurious about this subject. ... The silence of American conservatives has a more complex cause. To a significant degree, it's due to sheer ignorance," he asserts.

"Liberals and conservatives have supported immigration for different reasons, Brimelow observes, and both do so misguidedly."

Liberals' immigration stance is based on emotionalism and romanticism. In severing the connection between the cultural idea of 'nation' and the political idea of 'state,' they wishfully deny the need for any common bond among Americans other than political ones. In Brimelow's words,

> *Americans are now being urged to abandon the bonds of a common ethnicity and instead to trust entirely to ideology to hold together their state ... This is an extraordinary experiment, like suddenly replacing all the blood in a patient's body. History suggests little reason to suppose it will succeed. ... the much-touted 'Soviet Man,' the creation of much tougher ideologists using much rougher methods than anything yet seen in the U.S., has turned out to be a Russian, Ukranian, or Kazakh after all.*

In their championship of 'cultural pluralism,' liberals are the unknowing progeny of turn-of-the-century "Kallenism"[3] — an ideological opposition to 'Americanization' as it was practiced during the last great immigration wave (1880-1920). When they claim that immigration has only enriched the U.S., liberals fail to realize that long periods of 'digestion,'

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during which immigration intake remained low, have always been a necessary part of the process.

Some conservatives, Brimelow continues, have favored high levels of immigration for other, but just as specious, reasons. One is ideological:

> *Just as conservatives tend to think immigration is a natural phenomenon, they also assume vaguely that it must have been ratified by some free-market process. But immigration to the U.S. is not determined by economics: it is determined — or at least, profoundly distorted — by public policy. Inevitably, there are mismatches between skills supplied and skills demanded.*

Closely related is the belief that the continued influx of cheap labor is a *sine qua non* for American business. Brimelow punctures this idea:

> *Absolute size can be useful while seizing a continent or fighting wars. But in the end it is output per capita that determines living standards. And, both proportionately and absolutely, in an increasingly technological age, what will count is not the quantity of people but their quality — and the quality of their ideas.*

Present immigration policy, Brimelow notes, is only sparingly based on the qualities immigrants bring.

Brimelow also undercuts the unspoken political reasons for conservative support of immigration: first the mistaken idea that new immigrants are going to become conservative Republicans, and second, that Republicans can curry favor with minorities and liberals by buying them off with a liberal immigration policy. Even if these false assumptions were true, he points out, it profits a person nothing to gain favor if he loses his soul. Brimelow charges that, to a great extent, conservatives have internalized the naive idea of 'cultural pluralism,' and thus betrayed themselves. This move "reveals an utter innocence about the reality of ethnic and cultural differences, let alone about little things like tradition and history — in short, the greater part of the conservative vision."

Brimelow challenges all intellectuals — liberals and conservatives alike — to take off the blinders of pro-immigration sentiment, and to see the situation as it really is. And it looks as if eyes are beginning to open. Citing the *National Review* article, syndicated columnist William Rusher has condemned conservative collusion in warping immigration policy (*Washington Times*, June 27, 1992). Later, *National Review* itself editorially debunked the pro-immigration arguments made in *Business Week*'s July 13 cover story, "The Immigrants: How They're Helping the U.S. Economy" (*National Review*, August 3, 1992).

"Time to Rethink Immigration?" arrived just in time. ■

NOTES

[1] "Nationalism and the Immigration Question" by Llewellyn H. Rockwell in January; "Invasion USA: the Sequel" by George Sunderland in May; and "Immigration under Scrutiny" by Gerard Longspaugh in June. *Conservative Review*, 6861 Elm Street, Suite 4H, McLean, VA 22101, telephone (703) 442-8010.

[2] "Promises to Keep" by Chilton Williamson, Jr.; "The Impact of Immigration on Hispanic-Americans" by Richard Estrada; " and "Aliens and the Alienated" by William R. Hawkins — all in the July 1991 issue of *Chronicles*, published by the Rockford Institute, 934 North Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103-7061, telephone 1-800-435-0715.

[3] Horace M. Kallen published books and articles during and after World War I affirming cultural pluralism over against the standard of the melting pot.

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Roy Beck, who is Washington Editor of The Social Contract, *reviews the essay by Jack Miles in* The Atlantic.

An Eye-opening Experience

A Magazine Essay Reviewed by Roy Beck

"Blacks vs Browns: Immigration
and the New American Dilemma"
By Jack Miles
The Atlantic
October 1992

An emerging national debate on immigration is likely to begin on the right but will "quickly be seized by the left" where there may be stronger ideological reasons for restrictionism, predicts Jack Miles, a *Los Angeles Times* editorial writer. In a 28-page *The Atlantic* essay promoted on the cover as "Immigration and the New American Dilemma: Blacks vs. Browns," Miles goes a long way toward making his prophecy come true by penning what may be the most visible and influential liberal argument to date for reduced immigration. A highly personal account of intellectual and moral struggle with the issue in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots, it reveals Miles as a donor to activist Central American refugee groups, as having had close relations with illegal residents and their families, and as a person much more comfortable around Latino immigrants than poor black citizens. But the riots forced him to come to grips with the true meaning of the impact of mass immigration on African-Americans in Los Angeles. Although giving some credence to the view of the riots as a black-white issue, he finds most convincing the explanations that deal with the economic despair into which blacks have been plunged by mass immigration. In thousands of "quiet choices," Miles says, L.A. residents have contributed to the despair.

"The average white or Asian Angeleno prefers to have — and usually does have — a Latino rather than an African-American doing the work," he writes. "The result is unofficial but widespread preferential hiring of Latinos — the largest affirmative-action program in the nation, and one paid for, in effect, by blacks." Miles unmasks the racism that so often is behind statements that mass immigration is necessary to fill jobs that Americans refuse to do. "Are they thinking of black Americans?" he asks rhetorically. Well, of course they are. With extraordinary numbers of blacks crying out for jobs with liveable wages, talk of work that Americans won't do is a thinly-veiled judgment that jobless blacks are too lazy and demand too high a wage. But Miles writes: "If there were no Latinos — and no other immigrants — around to do all the work that is to be done in Los Angeles, would blacks not be hired to do it? I think they would be. Wages might have to be raised. Friction might be acute for a while. But in the end the work would go looking for available workers."

Miles relies heavily on the writing of labor economist Vernon Briggs of Cornell University and on the literature and polling of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, (FAIR) which he calls an "anathema to some, but better a clearly framed agenda, however debatable, than free-range nativism." He salutes FAIR and Briggs for reminding us that the nation has choices on immigration and notes that FAIR is not anti-immigration. "FAIR would admit 300,000 a year. How many would you admit? And if blacks get hurt, whose side are you on?"

"...the riots forced [Mr. Miles] to come to grips with the true meaning of the impact of mass immigration on African-Americans in Los Angeles."

Although he doesn't directly answer the question for himself, Miles indicates that the needs of African-American citizens should have priority over the needs of citizens of other countries. He quotes Abraham Lincoln on the blood debt the nation owed for 250 years of unrequited toil of slaves, and concludes, in a passage quoted favorably by the *Washington Post*: "And by an irony that I find particularly cruel, unskilled Latino immigration may

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be doing to American blacks at the end of the 20th century what the European immigration that brought my own ancestors here did to them at the end of the 19th."

The Atlantic, in an editors' note, acknowledges that it allows Miles to "explore questions raised by the riot which well-meaning people usually avoid as inflammatory." And much change seems to be presaged for future liberal-oriented debate by the assessment of the editors that the proper context of immigration discussion is not good (in the form of compassion for immigrants) vs. evil (manifested as immigration restriction) but a conflict of good vs. good.

Miles claims he has compassion for citizens of Third World nations who, he suggests, could see the rise of their own terrorist versions of Peru's Shining Path movement if the United States shuts off the immigration safety valve. And he offers a challenge for groups like FAIR to address the push factors of immigration while leading the way on eliminating the pull factors. ■

The immigrant success stories we commonly see in the press never seem to recognize that the person eulogized might have made an equally outstanding contribution at home — where, many times, their services are much in demand. Here is a case in point. Dr. Venkataswamy might have migrated to the U.S., where he doubtless would have been successful. What would have been the fate of his countrymen in Tamil Nadu, India? Would we really rather that he was being acclaimed for his work at, say, NYU?

John H. Tanton, M.D.
650 West Mitchell
Petoskey, Michigan

Dear Dr. Tanton:

We would like to take this occasion to invite you to a very special luncheon in honor of Govindappa Venkataswamy, M.D. of Madurai, Tamil Nadu, India.

Dr. Venkataswamy is the recipient of the Lighthouse 1992 Pisart Vision Award which will be presented to him on Tuesday September 22nd at the St. Regis Hotel, New York City. There will be a reception in his honor at 12 noon ... to be followed by the luncheon at 12:30...

The $15,000 Pisart Vision Award is accompanied by a replica of the Pisart sculpture by Gary Kleiman, a visually impaired artist. This award, and the award ceremony luncheon, are made possible entirely through the generosity of Mme. Georgette Pisart, a long-time volunteer and contributor to The Lighthouse. The award is presented annually to an individual who has "distinguished himself or herself by intervention or otherwise in the prevention, cure, treatment or care of blindness."

Dr. Venkataswamy founded and is Director of the Aravind Eye Hospitals, which perform some of the highest volumes of eye surgery in the world. He has also established a children's hospital in Madurai, a nutrition center to help prevent vitamin A deficiency (which can cause blindness), and a variety of satellite hospitals, clinics and rehabilitation services.

Dr. Venkataswamy is the recipient of many awards and honors, has published widely in vision research and ophthalmology journals, and is a leader in the field of blindness prevention.

We hope you can attend this award luncheon honoring Dr. Venkataswamy.

Sincerely,

Barbara Silverstone, DSW
Executive Director

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. Immigration, however, grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. Of the many millions who would like to come, how many shall we admit?
2. Who will be chosen to immigrate, and what should the criteria be for choosing?
3. How shall we enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions, by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our hope is to provide a periodical devoted to the inter-related topics of:

— **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive in large measure from an overall policy on population size.)
— **Immigration** policy, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
— **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
— **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities**, since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are at bottom moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world we live in.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Associate Editors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas, to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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